

THE LITERARY CLUBS AND SOCIETIES OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND,
and their influence on the literary productions of
the period from 1700 to 1800.

Written by D. D. McElroy

1951 - 1952



CHAPTER SIX.

STUDENT CLUBS AND SOCIETIES.

During the eighteenth century, the Scottish Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews, were the centers of that intellectual foment which has since been called the Scottish Enlightenment.¹ For this reason, if for no other, the associations formed by students who were caught up in the intellectual excitement of the times would be of great interest and significance. But the student societies which I shall endeavour to describe in this chapter are interesting for other reasons as well. In one respect, such organizations, though composed of immature youths, are interesting because they demonstrate in microcosm the intellectual attitudes and interests of more mature associations. In many of these student organizations, therefore, we shall discover delightful miniatures of the clubs and societies which have been described in preceding chapters.

From another point of view, Scottish student organizations appear as a reflection of certain peculiarities of Scottish intellectual life. Debating societies, which are dearly beloved of all students who have received the taint of the Western democratic tradition, were even more of a speciality of Scottish students. Several circumstances of their

1. Hume Brown: History of Scotland, Vol. 3, passim; Millar: Literary History of Scotland, page 354; Graham: Social Life in Scotland, page 471; and History of the Dialectic Society, Introduction, page ix. See also Chapter 4, page 116, and note.



national background combined to bring this about. For one thing, the two leading professions in Scotland, the Church and the Law, both were fields in which an ability to speak in public was a tremendous advantage. Scottish courts of law were a splendid arena for the display of natural talents, and the Scottish legal profession had the added prestige of containing within its ranks many of the men of letters who had established a literary reputation which, although it was independent¹ of the profession, reflected glory upon it. The National Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a kind of ecclesiastical parliament, presented another opportunity for those who wished to distinguish themselves in public debates.² And the clerical profession, which included such men as Hugh Blair, Alexander Carlyle, and William Robertson, was a shining example and a lure to ambitious young Scotsmen.³ It is little

1. For the position occupied by the legal profession in Scotland's social and intellectual life see:- Cockburn: Journal, Vol. 2, page 311 f.; and his Memorials of his Time, page 24; Lockhart: Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, Vol. 2, page 3, ltr. xxviii; and his Life of Scott, Vol. 1, page 420; Craik: Century of Scottish History, Vol. 1, page 420; and, perhaps best of all, Newte: Prospects and Observations, page 564 f.
2. "In the absence of a Scots Parliament, the Assembly was looked upon and used as the nursery for orators and politicians, and there was to be found almost as good speaking in it as in the House of Commons." (Graham: Social Life in Scotland, page 359.) For remarks in a similar vein, see:- Bower: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 213; Thomson: Scottish Man of Feeling, page 10 f.; Kincaid: History of Edinburgh, page 120; Ferguson: Henry Erskine, page 96 f.; Carlyle: Autobiography, pages 259 and 266; Mathieson: Awakening of Scotland, page 62; and Dugald Stewart: Life of Robertson, page 273 f.
3. For the position occupied by the clergy, as leaders in intellectual matters and as men of letters, see:- Cockburn: Memorials of his Time, page 223 f.; Watson: Scotsmen of the Eighteenth Century, page 171 f.; Millar: Literary History of Scotland, page 354; Graham: Scottish

wonder, all these things considered, that the art of elocution was a national Scottish pastime, and that ambitious young men regarded it as a form of sport in which excellence brought success, fame, and popular applause.

But oratory was not merely an idle pastime of the students. At the beginning of the century, the office of Regent in the University of Edinburgh was bestowed upon the victor in a public debate.¹ And in their college lectures under Hugh Blair half a century later, Scottish students in the same University were given the following advice regarding the benefits and dangers to be expected from their debating societies:²

Exercises of speaking have always been recommended to students, in order that they may prepare themselves for speaking in public, and on real business. The meetings, or societies, into which they sometimes form themselves for this purpose, are laudable institutions; and, under proper conduct, may serve many valuable purposes. They are favourable to knowledge and study, by giving occasion to inquiries concerning those subjects which are made the ground of discussion. They produce emulation; and gradually inure those who are concerned in them, to somewhat that resembles a public assembly. They accustom them to know their own powers, and to acquire a command of themselves in speaking; and what is, perhaps, the greatest advantage of all, they give them a facility and fluency of expression, and assist them in procuring that Copia verborum, which can be acquired by no other means but frequent exercise in speaking.

Men of Letters, page 432; and Ramsay: Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Century, Vol. 1, page 220 f. In a speech which he gave before the General Assembly, Alexander Carlyle left no doubt as to his high opinion of the Scottish Clergy:- "We have men who have successfully enlightened the world in almost every branch, not to mention treatises (this note is continued on the next page).

1. Dalziel: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 272.
2. Hugh Blair: Lectures on Belles Lettres, Vol. 2, page 440.

But the meetings which I have now in my eye, are to be understood of those academical associations, where a moderate number of young gentlemen, who are carrying on their studies, and are connected by some affinity in the future pursuits which they have in view, assemble privately, in order to improve one another, and to prepare themselves for those public exhibitions which may afterwards fall to their lot. As for those public and promiscuous societies, in which multitudes are brought together, who are often of low stations and occupations, who are joined by no common bond of union, except an absurd rage for public speaking, and have no other object in view, but to make a show of their supposed talents, they are institutions not merely of an useless, but of an hurtful nature. They are in great hazard of proving seminaries of licentiousness, petulance, faction, and folly. They mislead those, who, in their own callings, might be useful members of society, into fantastic plans of making a figure on subjects which divert their attention from their proper business, and are widely remote from their sphere in life.

Even the allowable meetings into which students of oratory form themselves, stand in need of direction in order to render them useful. If their subjects of discourse be improperly chosen; if they maintain extravagant or indecent topics; if they indulge themselves in loose and flimsy declamation, which has no foundation in good sense; or accustom themselves to speak pertly on all subjects without due preparation, they may improve one another in petulance, but in no other thing; and will infallibly form themselves to a very faulty and vicious taste in speaking. I would, therefore, advise all who are members of such societies, in the first place, to attend to the choice of their subjects; that they be useful and manly, either formed on the course of their studies, or on something that has relation to morals and taste, to action and life. In the second place, I would advise them to be temperate in the practice of speaking; not to speak too often, nor on subjects where they are ignorant or unripe; but only when they have proper materials for a discourse, and have digested and thought of the subject beforehand. In the third place, when they do speak, they

in defence of Christianity, or eloquent illustrations of every branch of Christian doctrine and morals. Who have wrote the best histories, ancient and modern? - It has been clergymen of this Church. Who has wrote the clearest delineation of the human understanding and all its powers? - A clergyman of this Church. Who has written the best system of rhetoric, and exemplified it by his own orations? - A clergyman of this Church. Who wrote a tragedy that has been deemed perfect? - A clergyman of this Church. Who was the most profound mathematician of the age he lived in? - A clergyman of this Church. Who is his successor, in reputation as in office? Who wrote the best treatise on agriculture? Let us not complain of poverty, for it is a splendid poverty indeed! It is paupertas fecunda virorum." (Carlyle: Autobiography, page 588, Burton's continuation of Carlyle's life.)

should study always to keep good sense and persuasion in view, rather than an ostentation of eloquence, and for this end, I would, in the fourth place, repeat the advice which I gave in a former Lecture, that they should always choose that side of the question to which, in their own judgement, they are most inclined, as the right and true side; and defend it by such arguments as seem to them most solid. By these means they will take the best method of forming themselves gradually to a manly, correct, and persuasive manner of speaking.¹

When all this emphasis on the art of elocution is considered, it is little wonder that even before they entered the University, Scottish students were preparing themselves for the ordeal of public debates.

When Henry Brougham was attending the High School of Edinburgh, he and two or three other students "used to meet of an evening and hold a debate on some subject which (Dr. Adam) had handled in his class."² And James Mackintosh, while still a student in grammar school was the leading figure in a juvenile debating assembly.³

Despite the predominance of debating societies among student's organizations, however, not all such clubs and societies were of so serious and so practical a purpose. Conviviality, which has always been associated with student life, had a strong following among Scottish students, and was a reflection of the convivial spirit which permeated eighteenth-century social life. In order to clear the way for more businesslike associations, therefore, I shall begin my account of student organizations

1. I have quoted this advice of Dr. Blair's as note #2 on page 207, above.

2. Brougham: Life, Vol. 1, page 44.

3. Robert Mackintosh: Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 8, note. The young Mackintosh called his group the "the House of Commons", and he spoke in it in the person of the leading political figures of the day.

with a brief description of a rather pleasant convivial society which was composed of students from Marischal College in Aberdeen.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, Aberdeen was the scene of an extravagant student's drinking club which called itself the Collegium Butterense. This Society has been so admirably described by Robert Chambers that I shall not run the risk of spoiling its tradition, but offer the reader an extract from Chambers's account which, indeed, contains all that is known concerning this youthful and imaginative group of bibbers:-¹

Notwithstanding the many serious and the many calamitous things affecting Scotland, there was an under-current of pleasantries and jocularities, of which we are here and there fortunate enough to get a glimpse. For example, in Aberdeen, near the gate of the Mansion of Errol, there looms out upon our view a little cozy tavern, kept by one Peter Butter, much frequented of students in Marischal College and the dependants of the magnate here named. The former called it the Collegium Butterense, as affecting to consider it a sort of university supplementary to, and necessary for the completion of, the daylight one which their friends understood them to be attending. Here drinking was study, and proficiency therein gave the title to degrees. Even for admission, there was a theme required, which consisted in drinking a particular glass to every friend and acquaintance one had in the world, with one more. Without these possible thirty-nine or more articles being duly and unreservedly swallowed, the candidate was relentlessly excluded....

A diploma conferred upon George Durward, doubtless not without very grave consideration of his pretensions to the honour, is couched in much the same strain as the theses:

To all and sundry who shall see this,
What'er his station or degree is,
We, Masters of the Buttery College,
Send greeting, and to give them knowledge,
That George Durward, praesentium lator,
Did study at our Alma Mater
Some years, and hated foolish projects,

1. Chambers: Domestic Annals of Scotland, Vol. 3, page 230; see also Watson: Collection of Scots Poems.

But stiffly studied liquid logics;
And now he's as well skilled in liquor
As any one that blows a bicker;
For he can make our college theme
A syllogism or enthymeme...
Since now we have him manumitted,
In arts and sciences well fitted,
To recommend him we incline
To all besouth and north the line,
To black and white, though they live as far
As Cape Good-Hope and Madagascar,
Him to advance, because he is
Juvenis bonae indolis, etc.

We have, however, no specimen of the wit of this fluid university that strikes us as equal to a Catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Butterensi; to all external appearance, a dry list of learned books, while in reality comprehending the whole paraphernalia of a tavern. It is formally divided into "Books in large folio," "Books in lesser folio," "Books in quarto," "Books in octavo," and "Lesser Volumes," just as we might suppose the university catalogue to have been. Amongst the works included are: "Maximilian Malt-kist de principiis liquidorum - Kircherus Kettles de eodem themate - Bucket's Hudrostaticks - Opera Bibuli Barrelli, ubi de conservatione liquoris, et de vacuo, problematica disputator - Constantinus Chopinus de philosophicis bibendi legibus, in usum Principalis, cura Georgii Leith (described in a note as a particularly assiduous pupil of the college) 12 tom. - Compendium ejus, for weaker capacities - Barnabius Beer-glass, de lavando gutture - Manuale Gideonis Gill, de Syllogismis concludentibus - Findlay Fireside, de circulari poculorum motu, etc." One may faintly imagine how all this light-headed nonsense would please Dr. Pitcairn, as he sat regaling himself in the Greping Office, and how the serious people would shake their heads at it when they perused it at full length, a few years afterwards, in Watson's Collection of Scots Poems.

In later years the University of St. Andrews was the scene of a student's convivial society known as the Nine Tumbler Club, "a club that became extinct because, so the story was, no candidate could be found to pass the test qualification of 'drinking nine tumblers of whiskey toddy, and then saying, Bib-lic-al Crit-ic-ism.'¹"

1. Kempt: Convivial Caledonia, page 27.

At the twin colleges of Aberdeen, however, not all the student's organizations were devoted solely to student "high-jinks." In 1742, for example, we learn that Dr. (George) Campbell and others joined together in "the first Theological Club found in Marischal College."¹ And when Sir James Mackintosh attended King's College, together with Robert Hall he formed "a little debating society in which one of the subjects of dispute was ... the Duration of future Punishments."² Hall, who became a dissenting minister, defended the "rigid", and Mackintosh "the more lenient" opinion.³ This club "was jocularly designated 'the Hall and Mackintosh Club.'⁴"

Still later in the century, in 1789, the Aberdeen Medical Society⁵ was founded by "a band of medical students" from both colleges under the leadership of James McGregor.⁶ "In its early days the Society was really a mutual improvement circle, a student's debating club that met weekly in the houses of its members. Later the meetings were transferred to the Greek Classroom and then to a hall provided by an early friend of the young Society, Dr. Livingston, Professor of Medicine in Marischal College."⁷

1. M. Forbes: Beattie and his friends, page 279.

2. R. Mackintosh: Life of J. Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 13.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., page 16.

5. Afterwards the "Aberdeen Medico-Chirurgical Society" from 1811.

6. Rorie: The Book of Aberdeen, page 31.

7. Ibid., page 32. See also Scottish Notes and Queries, March 1890, page 155; and Coutts: History of the University of Glasgow, page 555.

It is to Edinburgh University, however, that we must look for the majority of our examples of student societies of the eighteenth century. The Scottish metropolis not only contained the largest of the five Scottish Universities, but it was the centre of that intellectual foment which I have described in previous chapters. Edinburgh, too, was the home of the Select Society which, as the supreme example of the age's faith in public discussion, was an example which was followed, in 1764, by the most successful student's debating society ever to be formed, the Speculative Society. But while the Select Society was the immediate example followed by the Speculative, the Scottish student's infatuation with oratory was displayed in a number of debating societies which were organized before 1764.

The historical background of the first student debating societies is interesting, and it is nowhere traced so expertly as in the History¹ of the Speculative Society. The authors of this work describe the situation² which led to the formation of the first of these societies as follows:-

It was about the time of Rollock, that it became customary, in graduating as Master of Arts at the University of Edinburgh, to publish a philosophical thesis, which was submitted to public disputation. The theses were originally prepared by the Regents of the University, the candidates being required merely to maintain the doctrines advanced in them. This custom was liable to many obvious objections; but there can be little doubt that it tended to sharpen the faculties, and prepare the disputants for more successfully engaging in public controversial discussion. More recently, the inaugural dissertations were prepared, as well as defended, by the students; and many of these, still extant, are

-
1. There are two Histories of the Speculative Society. The first one was published in 1845, and the second in 1905. I have made a distinction by mentioning the date of publication in my references.
 2. History of the Speculative Society (1845), pages 6-7.

remarkable for ingenuity and elegance. The practice, however, fell gradually into disuse; and only a small number of these addresses bear a date later than the middle of last century.

In course of time, the practice of declaiming and disputing in presence of a Professor, and of publicly defending an inaugural dissertation, was abandoned, and the statutes requiring it fell into desuetude. But it was succeeded, after an interval, by one much better calculated to promote originality of thought and independence of opinion - that of private meetings for discussion and debate. It is worthy of remark, that the first trace of these private associations was in connexion with specific objects of scientific research; those which took a more daring flight into the regions of general speculation in philosophical and political topics, were of a later date....

"In the year 1720," the author of this history continues, "a Society was founded in Edinburgh among the students of natural philosophy, for the cultivation of subjects falling under that branch of science." ¹ Little more is known of this organization except that it made "a collection of books relating to physical science" which, upon its dissolution, it left ² to the college library.

The next society to appear, the Medical Society, later the Royal Medical Society, is, because of its long history, deserving of a more ³ lengthy treatment. But before I begin with this task, there is one

-
1. History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 7..
 2. Ibid.
 3. For accounts of the Royal Medical Society, see:- (Stroud): History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh; Duncan: The Story of the buildings of the Royal Medical Society; Gray, (James), and McFarlan, (A. M.): The Royal Medical Society; Comrie: History of Scottish Medicine, Vol. 1, page 338 f.; Newte: Prospects and Observations, page 365; Brougham: Life, page 80; Grant: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, pages 394, 406, 407, 481, and 484 f.; Thomson: Life of Cullen, page 9; Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, pages 100, and 245; Vol. 2, page 200 f.; Bower: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 123, and 366 f.; Hume: Learned Societies, page 169; and History of the Speculative (1845), page 7. Notices

point which must be made clear concerning the "student organizations" which have been included in this chapter.

It has been brought to my attention that several of the societies which I have included in this chapter are not now student societies in the strictest sense. And it is true that if I were to describe the Royal Medical Society and the Speculative Society as they exist today, I would undoubtedly place them in a more general category, for their memberships include many men who have long since finished their student days. But, even so, I believe that there is a strong tendency to regard these organizations as essentially student's societies, and this, or so I believe, is correct. If we compare the organization and membership of the Royal Medical and the Speculative Societies to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries, and to the many mature learned societies which exist at the present day, their special qualities at once become apparent. Fortunately, however, these rather devious ways are unnecessary for the purpose I wish to fulfill in this thesis. My point of view throughout has been an eighteenth-century one, for what I have

of the Society appear in the Scots Magazine, April 1775, pages 221-222; August 1775, page 416 f.; June 1776, page 339; February 1779, page 106; (and see also the Indexes of the individual volumes); Edin. Magazine and Review, June 1775, Vol. 3, page 354 f.; Caledonian Mercury, Monday, April 29, 1776; Glasgow Mercury, Thursday, January 21, 1779; Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany, Vol. 10, Dec. 1789, page 85; Glasgow Courier, Vol. I, Tuesday, November 29, 1791. The Society has also been mentioned briefly in R. Mackintosh: Life of J. Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 25; Forster: Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith, Vol. 1, page 47; Smellie: Literary and Characteristical Lives, page 3; an article from the Proceedings of the American Physical Society, Vol. 94, no. 3, June 1950, entitled "Some American Students of 'that Shining Oracle of Physic,' Dr. William Cullen of Edinburgh, 1755-1766"; Coutts: History of the University of Glasgow, page 487; Kay: Portraits, Vol. 1, part 2, page 249; and Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 311-312.

been trying to discover is what these societies meant to the men who organized and were active in them. From this standpoint, because of their student origin, I am certain that there is every justification for placing the Royal Medical Society and the Speculative Society in the special category of student's organizations.

The Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh is the oldest eighteenth-century society which is still in existence in Scotland. It developed from a small beginning in 1734, when seven students met in a tavern and agreed to come together for the purpose of hearing and judging a dissertation which was to be written by one of the members. The following account of the origin of the Society, and of its first meeting, is from the information of "one of its first and most respectable members":-¹

In the latter end of August 1734, the following gentlemen, viz: Dr. Cleghorn, Dr. Cuming, Dr. Russel, Dr. Hamilton, Mr. Archibald Taylor, and Dr. James Kennedy; then fellow-students in the Schools of Medicine at Edinburgh, who had been long familiarly acquainted, and entertained a reciprocal regard for each other, after having employed themselves during the three preceding weeks in the dissection of a body in the Anatomical Theatre, agreed to spend a social evening together at a tavern. After supper it was proposed by one of the company, that this little Society should meet once a fortnight, early in the evening, at their respective lodgings; that a Dissertation in English or Latin on some medical subject at the choice of the Society should be composed and read at each of these meetings, to which such objections as occurred to the rest of the company should be made, which the author was to obviate in the best manner he could. This proposal was cordially assented to by all present, and Dr. Cuming was appointed by the other Members to prepare a Dissertation for the first Meeting, "On the Signs, Causes, and Method of Cure, of the Rabies Canina;"

1. "Probably Dr. Cuming." (Stroud: History of the Medical Society, page xvii, note.) The passage I have quoted is from Lettson, (J. C.): Life of Dr. John Fothergill, prefixed to his Works, 4to. Lond: 1784, page lxvi and lxvii, quoted in Stroud: History of the Medical Society, page xvii f.

This he accordingly did, and read to the Society on (Friday) the 20th December following; Dr. Russel followed in one, "De Gonorrhoea Virulenta"; then came Dr. Cleghorn, "De Epilepsia"; Kennedy, "De Fluxu Mensium," etc. This Association continued during that winter and the ensuing Spring; but in the Summer of 1735, the Members of this little Society were dispersed, and Cleghorn alone remained, to continue, with his respected Mothergill and some others, this Association during the subsequent Winter. This was the humble and fortuitous commencement of a Society, that has since become highly respectable by its obvious utility, and the names of many learned and eminent physicians which it records in the List of its Members, and it is now incorporated by Royal Charter.

The Medical Society, however, was not firmly established until 1737, from which time it claims its descent "under the Title of the Medical Society of Edinburgh."¹ During its first official session, the Society "consisted but of ten select Students, who seem to have combined with the more general object of professional improvement, the subordinate one of preparing themselves for Graduation, by the performances of exercises similar to those prescribed at Universities."² The Society's³ early records show that the weekly meetings were held in a tavern. "The literary duties of Members consisted in their presenting, in the order of seniority, a Discourse on a professional subject of their own selection; and when the whole of these were concluded, - a Consultation on an actual Case of Disease, followed by an Answer to a Medical Question, both previously allotted."⁴

1. (Stroud): History of the Medical Society, page xviii.

2. Ibid, page xxi.

3. Ibid, page xxi.

4. Ibid, page xxii.

After an interruption which was caused by the Rebellion of 1745, the Society continued to meet under its original constitution. In 1763, the taverns of Edinburgh were forsaken as meeting places, and an apartment in the Royal-Infirmery being provided by the officials of that institution, the Medical Society was enabled "to devote the money formerly employed in defraying (its) expenses at a tavern, to the preferable purpose of purchasing books." ¹ The library of the Medical Society soon became a very valuable addition to the organization, and as its size grew in proportion to the expanding membership of the association, the members determined to build a hall for their own use. Subscriptions for the erection of the building were opened in 1771, and the building itself was completed in 1776. ² In their project of erecting this hall, the members of the Medical Society were generously assisted by donations from non-members. As a part of the fund-raising scheme, the following notice was published in two Edinburgh periodicals:- ³

Some Account of the MEDICAL SOCIETY of Students in the University of Edinburgh.

The members of this society, all of whom are of some standing in the study of physic, hold weekly meetings; at which they read, in rotation, discourses on medical subjects previously assigned. But before any discourse be publicly read, it is communicated in writing to every member, and some are appointed to impugn, if necessary, the doctrines which it contains. From these circumstances, the author of every discourse is induced to take the utmost pains to render it as complete as possible; and

-
1. (Stroud): History of the Medical Society, page xxxii.
 2. See Duncan: Account of the Buildings of the Royal Medical Society; (Stroud): History of the Medical Society, page xxxii f.; and, for a description of the hall and of the opening ceremony, see Caledonian Mercury, Monday, April 29, 1775; Scots Magazine, April 1775, pages 221-222; and June 1776, page 339.
 3. Edinburgh Magazine and Review, June 1775, Vol. 3, page 354 f.; Scots

the other members have an opportunity of coming prepared to point out every other view in which the subject can be considered. Thus a spirited emulation is excited, genius is called forth, the judgment is exercised, and the utmost industry produced; and, by a mutual communication, much information is obtained, mistakes are corrected, and farther necessary inquiries pointed out.

At these meetings, every opinion which has at any time prevailed, or which subsists with any credit, in the system of physic, is examined with great freedom. Among others, the doctrines delivered by the professors in the university are considered, and canvassed, with modesty, but without reserve. By this means these doctrines are more fully understood and, when adopted, are received, not on the mere authority of a professor, but as the result of the student's own deliberation and judgment.

Such an institution may hereafter be of use in securing the diligence of professors, and the attention of students. And it is acknowledged by all who are acquainted with the university of Edinburgh, that the assiduity and ardour in study which is so remarkable in the treatest part of the students of medicine, has been especially excited and supported by the medical society: and, in this manner, it has contributed not a little to the prosperity and present flourishing state of this school of physic.

So great have been the advantages derived from this institution, that it has now subsisted without interruption for about forty years. The present professors of medicine in the university, and many others of the most distinguished names in physic, have been members of it. All of them have shewn themselves no less ready in acknowledging the benefit they had received from it, than warm in expressing the affection they still retain for it; and there is this proof of both, that these gentlemen, many of whom are now at a great distance, as often as they have had occasion to advise a young man to resort to this university for the study of physic, have at the same time directed him to become a member of the Medical Society, and have employed all their interest to obtain his admission, considering it as a chief means of his progress and improvement.¹

As this society has been of so considerable utility, it is unquestionably an object of consequence to remove any inconvenience

Magazine, August, 1775, page 416 f.

1. "Dr. William Buchan to Mr. William Smellie, from Ackworth, 18th January 1762. Dear Willie, ... If you are not a member of the Medical Society, I would advise you to enter immediately, as one never fails to pick up something in these clubs, let them be ever so stupid...." (Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 245, ltr. #XLIX.)

under which it has hitherto laboured, and to give it all possible stability and permanence. The members have not hitherto possessed any convenient place, under their own command, in which their meetings might be held; and while, with great pains and expence, they have acquired a considerable library, they have had no room proper for its reception. At present it is in a situation very ill adapted for allowing them to have the proper use of their books.

To remove these inconveniencies, they propose to make a building suitable to their purposes, which is intended to afford them a room for their library, a hall for their weekly meetings, a repository for curious subjects in natural history or anatomy, and a place for chymical experiments. Such a building will give many and great advantages in carrying on the business of the society. It will enable the members to prosecute their studies with more convenience; it will allow them to engage in inquiries which they could not otherwise pursue; and, by farther uniting them in a common property, it will secure the permanency of the institution.

For defraying the expence of this building, the present members have contributed according to their abilities. And they have had this particular approbation of their design, that many gentlemen, long since settled in distant countries, have chearfully subscribed to the undertaking.

These contributions, though they have enabled the society to begin work, are by no means sufficient for completing it. They have therefore published this account of their situation, that gentlemen who wish well to literary establishments, may have an opportunity of encouraging an institution which has had, and is likely to have, a great share in advancing the reputation of the school of physic, which has flourished so much to the honour and emolument of the city of Edinburgh.

Contributions, for this purpose, are received by Drs. Cullen, Hope, and Duncan, physicians in Edinburgh; and these gentlemen, with the annual presidents of the society, are intrusted with the conduct of the building now carrying on. Contributions are also received at London, by Mr. John Murray, bookseller, No. 32 Fleet-street; and at Dublin, by Mr. T. Ewing, bookseller, Cope-street.

The Medical Society of Edinburgh, now that it was in possession of a meeting-hall and of a considerable library, sought, from the Town Council, a town charter which would ensure its stability and permanence, and afford some protection to its property. This new effort has been described as follows by one of the Society's historians:-

Hitherto (the Medical Society) had existed only as a voluntary Association, united indeed by mutual agreement, but unknown to the laws, incompetent to form coercive regulations for its internal government, unable to nominate legal representatives, and consequently incapable of obtaining complete titles to its property, or of defending itself from injury and loss. To remove these disabilities, to confer permanence and solidity on the Institution, and to confirm to it those possessions which the stated or spontaneous contributions of its members might procure, it was necessary that it should become a Body Corporate, and thereby be empowered without need of renewal, or danger of interruption, to maintain a perpetual succession.

To effect this essential purpose, it was unanimously determined, at a very full meeting held about the end of the Fortieth Session in 1777, to apply to the Magistrates and Town-Council of Edinburgh for a Charter of Incorporation. The Petition of the Society was signed by many of the most respectable practitioners in town, and, among others, by seven of the Professors, and having no other object than the security of literary property, and the extension of literary usefulness, a favourable issue was at first confidently anticipated; but, owing to an unexpected opposition, encouraged in some measure by the University, and suggested, as it would appear, by a groundless apprehension that the views of the Students were ambitious, and tended to an undue encroachment on the authority of their superiors, it ultimately miscarried....

Conscious of its intrinsic merit, and of the reasonableness, and indeed necessity, of its object, the Society, superior to repulse, determined, as soon as its funds would permit, to make an application to the higher powers, and dedicated the ensuing Summer Recess to the prosecution of this affair. After some fruitless negotiation with the University through the medium of Principal Robertson, the case was submitted to the consideration of those eminent lawyers, the Lord Advocate Henry Dundas, and the Hon: Henry Erskine, who recommended in the strongest terms a petition to the Crown, as a measure, at once adequate to the purpose, and likely to be accomplished. The advice thus powerfully urged having been as promptly embraced, a Petition, prepared by Drs. Duncan, Maitland, and Wardrop, was unanimously adopted on the 4th August 1778, and transmitted to Mr. James Chalmer, a solicitor in London, with directions to forward the business in the accustomed manner.

This application to the Crown proving fortunately more successful than the former one to the Town Council, a Royal Charter of Incorporation, granted by his late Majesty, George the Third, was signed at St. James's on the 14th of the following December, announced to the Society from the Chair on the 2d of January 1779, and sealed at Edinburgh on the 12th of the same month. That the

humble and unassuming such a task may be esteemed, the inquiring student will applaud the useful diligence, which has superseded the labour of sifting the grains of instruction from the chaff of insignificance, and diffused, at a slight expense, some of the choicest flowers of medical literature.¹

The second activity of the Royal Medical Society was the establishment, in 1784, of "an annual Prize-Question, for the encouragement of experimental inquiries on subjects more or less directly connected with Medicine." The first questions were "on the General and Medical Properties of the different Species of Air," (1784), and "On the Nature and Varieties of Fermentation," (1785).² To the successful candidate went a prize

1. The title of the work referred to in the passage above was titled Thesaurus Medicus, Disputat: in Academ: Edinens: ad Rem Medicam pertinent: edent: Smellie, &c, 4 tom: 8vo, Edin: 1778-85; Tom: I, et III, Proemia. "In this work, 71 Theses, constituting rather more than one ninth of the whole, are selected from 613. (Stroud: History of the Medical Society, page lxi.) Stroud refers to Duncan: Medical Commentaries, Vol. IX, page 469; and to the Minutes of the Society, November 8, and 15, and December 24, and 27, 1783. But compare the following from Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 200 f. "There is another excellent institution among the medical students at Edinburgh, which tends greatly to excite them to emulation in a knowledge of their professional studies. In their societies, besides dissertations and disputations in English on medical topics, including the connected sciences, they have all, in their regular turns, to write short Latin papers or essays, which are impugned and defended in Latin debates, viva voce. In the years 1778 and 1779, Mr. Smellie published a selection from the medical theses which had appeared in Edinburgh, in two successive octavo volumes, under the title of Thesaurus Medicus; and to each of these volumes he affixed a well written Latin Preface of his own composition, giving a neat and appropriate account of the nature, objects, and motives of the work. In the first volume, he brought down the series of this selection from the year 1726, when the first regular medical diploma was conferred by the University of Edinburgh, to the year 1750. In the Second volume, he continued the series from the year 1750 to the year 1758; and he probably intended to have carried on the selection in successive volumes down to his own time: But the Royal Medical Society, (this note is continued on the next page.)

2. "These questions evince the interest excited by the brilliant discoveries in Pneumatic chemistry, which distinguished that period." (Stroud: History of the Medical Society, page lviii.)

¹
"of a Medal of Twenty Guineas value."

From a literary standpoint, the most interesting member of the
Medical Society was Oliver Goldsmith.² Before Goldsmith's time, in 1740,
Mark Akenside had also been a member.³ In later years James Mackintosh⁴
and Henry Brougham spoke at several of its meetings. Among the most
famous of the professional men who were active in the Society were
William Cullen,⁵ and Andrew Duncan. John Hope, and Francis Home, who
afterwards became known for their work in medical science, were also
⁶
members.

a very respectable assemblage of the medical students, took the task from his hands, by publishing, in two other successive volumes, a similar selection, from 1759 to 1784, both inclusive. As in all these four volumes, besides the theses selected for publication, there are full lists of the whole graduates who acquired the degree of doctor in each successive year, together with the titles of all their theses, or the subjects of their respective dissertations, these four volumes exhibit a curious and interesting view of the progress of the University of Edinburgh in acquiring celebrity as a school of medicine, in which its character is now, and has long been, unrivalled."

1. (Stroud): History of the Medical Society, page lviii.
2. "He (Goldsmith) became a member of the Medical Society, and on his admission appears to have been exempted from the usual condition of reading a paper on a medical subject." (Forster: Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith, page 47, Vol. 1.)
3. Smellie: Literary and Characteristical Lives, page 3.
4. For James Mackintosh's membership see R. Mackintosh: Life of J. Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 35; for Brougham see his Life, Vol. 1, p. 80.
5. (Stroud): History of the Medical Society, passim; also an article from the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 94, No. 3, June 1950, entitled "Some American Students of 'That Shining Oracle of Physic,' Dr. William Cullen of Edinburgh, 1755-1766."
6. Kay: Portraits, Vol. 1, part 2, page 249; and Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 100, concerning Dr. John Hope.

Despite its respectable membership, and its general beneficial effect on the development of Scottish medicine, the Royal Medical Society did not escape without serious criticism, and criticism, too, which seems to have been fully justified. About 1776, Dr. John Brown, "who was long a member, and three times President of the Society," devised a new theory of medicine which he modestly described as "equal, if not superior, in value to the philosophy of Newton."¹ "The easy perspicuity of (his) doctrine, its mathematical and scientific aspect, the respectable portion of truth which it contained, and even the confidence with which it was enforced, all conspired to revive the passion for hasty generalization, which repeated experience of its delusive tendency had weakened, but not extinguished, and procured for the Brunonian theory a degree of popularity and admiration frequently bordering on fanaticism."² The effect of this on the Edinburgh Medical students has been described by one who experienced it, the young medical student who afterwards became Sir James Mackintosh:³

This new doctrine had great charms for the young; it allured the speculative by its simplicity, and the indolent by its facility; it promised infallible success, with little previous study or

1. Stroud: History of the Medical Society, page lxxix; and Brown, (William Cullen): Life of Dr. John Brown, prefixed to his Works, 3 Vols, 8vo. London: 1804, pages 1-lxv.
2. (Stroud): History of the Medical Society, pages lxxix-lxxx. "The great error of the students of the Edinburgh University, in their societies for mutual improvement, long was the perpetual search for theories and hypotheses, which they mistook for science." (Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 132, note.)
3. R. Mackintosh: The Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 24 f.

experience. Both the generous and the turbulent passions of youth were flattered by an independence of established authority. The pleasures of revolt were enhanced by that hatred of their masters as impostors, and even as tyrants, with which all the power of Brown's invective was employed to inspire them. Scope and indulgence were given to all their passions. They had opponents to detest, as well as a leader to admire, without which no sect or faction will much flourish. Add to all this that Brown led the way in Bacchanalian orgies, as well as in plausible theories and animating declamation. It will not seem wonderful that a man who united so many sources of influence should have many followers, independently of the real merits of his system, which were very great, but which has a small share in procuring converts. It ought not to be omitted that some of the most mischievous and effectual of the above allurements arose not from the subject, but from the teacher. Among these, every one will number personal invective; and it is equally true that the system must have been grossly misunderstood, before it could have been supposed to favour idleness or intemperance, though, as it was taught, it did in fact promote these views.

I was speculative, lazy, and factious, and predisposed to Brunonianism by all these circumstances. The exciting cause was an accident which I will shortly mention. During a fever with which I was attacked, Mr. Alexander, a very excellent young man, the son of a physician at Halifax, visited me. He was a zealous Brunonian. By his advice I swallowed a large quantity of wine, and by that prescription I either was, or seemed to be, suddenly and perfectly cured. I suddenly became a Brunonian. I was elected a member of a society¹ which met weekly for the discussion of medical questions, under the somewhat magnificent title of "The Royal Medical Society." It was then divided into Cullenians and Brunonians - the Catholic Church and the Heretics. The first was zealously supported by the timid and the prudent; and it might also comprehend some lukewarm sceptics, who thought it better to practice a lukewarm conformity to the established system, than, at the expense of their own and the public quiet, to embrace doctrines somewhat more specious indeed, but perhaps equally false. The Brunonians were, as usual, more active and enterprising than their opponents of the establishment; and whether they had any natural superiority or not, they had at least more active power.

1. "He accompanied a friend to the Medical Society in the capacity of a visitor. Having listened for a time to the discussions going on, he asked permission to speak, which he did to such a good purpose, that forthwith he was elected a member by general acclaim. When I rejoined him next year in Edinburgh, I found him President of the Royal Medical Society." - Principal Jack's Letter. (Ibid, Vol. 1, page 25.)

So ardently was this contest pursued that duels between members of the contending factions were not infrequent, and in 1789 Francis Roulke, then President of the Medical Society, fell on the field of honour.¹ The struggle was, as a matter of course, carried into the meetings of the Royal Medical Society, with the following results:-²

The lyceum of social investigation was converted into a turbulent arena, where rival factions struggled for superiority, and the dispensers of health to others engaged in a sanguinary warfare among themselves. "Here," says Dr. Cullen Brown, "the partisans of both doctrines used to assemble weekly, and the debates on each side were conducted with such vehemence and intemperance, that they very commonly terminated in one member calling out another to the field. Such rencounters had so frequently disgraced the Society, that, in order to prevent the growing evil, it became necessary to pass a law, by which it was enacted, that any member who challenged another in consequence of what had been said in the public debates should be expelled from the Society."

The end of all this misguided effort was exactly what one would expect. The Medical Society, which was capable of performing so much that was useful to the profession, brought discredit upon itself, and upon medical societies generally. A visiting Englishman, for example,³ when he wrote of his visit to Scotland, spoke for the generality:-

That the lawyers, whose business for life is necessarily to be employed in wrangling, and disputes, should, from their early youth, accustom themselves to that kind of verbal warfare, is natural, and can scarcely be termed improper: the Divines, in former times, were under the necessity of making themselves masters of casuistry, and all the quirks of the Aristotelian Logic; though this is now much neglected, if not despised by men

-
1. Comrie: History of Scots Medicine, Vol. 1, page 339.
 2. Dr. Cullen Brown: Life of Dr. John Brown, pages lxviii, lxix, quoted in Stroud: History of the Medical Society, page lxxxi-lxxxii.
 3. Newte: Prospects and Observations, page 365. See also, Appendix H, page 635 f.

of real abilities. But it is a misfortune, that the students of Physic, a science which depends so much upon experiment, should be misled; first, by framing visionary theories in their own brains, and then producing and tenaciously defending them in their public Societies: where their object, like their fellow students of the Law, is often victory rather than for the discovery of truth.

Long before the Royal Medical Society had become enmeshed in the Aesculapian warfare which raged about it, another debating society was organized by a group of university students among whom William Robertson¹ was the outstanding figure. This Society, of which little is known, must certainly have been one of the most unusual of its kind, in so far as the talent of its members was concerned, for it contained not only Robertson, but John Home, Hugh Blair, Alexander Wedderburn, Alexander² Carlyle,³ and William Wilkie. This list of names reads, in fact, like a roll call of the Edinburgh literati who afterwards played so prominent⁴ a part in the Select Society, and in Scottish literary affairs generally. Other young men in the group were "Dr. William M'Ghie, an ingenious young physician, afterwards well known in London; Mr. William Cleghorn, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh; (and) Dr. John Blair, late Prebendary of Westminster."⁵ The activities of William Robertson

1. Stewart: Life of Robertson, page 159 f.; Small: Life of Adam Ferguson, page 2; Grant: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 349; Gleig: Life of Robertson, (prefixed to Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. 1), page xv; History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 9; Bower: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 29; and Craik: Century of Scot's History, Vol. 1, page 403.

2. Small: Life of Adam Ferguson, page 2.

3. Stewart: Life of Robertson, page 161.

4. For the Select Society, see Chapter 4, page 138 f.

5. Stewart: Life of Robertson, page 161; and History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 9.

as a member of this Society convinced him of the utility of such organizations, and had, when he later became principal of the University, a fortunate result for the student societies which were organized in
1
later years:-

Dr. Robertson took an early and an active part in the discussions which were introduced on these occasions, and distinguished himself among his comrades by the superiority of his powers, the readiness of his elocution, and the taste he showed in the Essays he delivered. He retained through life a conviction of the utility of such societies, during his principality constantly encouraged their institution, and in the most condescending manner, when applied to, kindly entered into the views of the members and communicated such advice as was admirably calculated to promote their prosperity.

It has been claimed, probably mistakenly, that the debating society in which Robertson, Blair, Carlyle, Home, Wilkie, and Wedderburn were active, "afterwards became merged in the Speculative Society, which
2
still exists in unimpaired efficiency." Whether this claim is valid or not, however, it makes an admirable lead to the next society which I intend to deal with - the Speculative Society of Edinburgh.

The Speculative Society of Edinburgh is the venerable aristocrat among the many student societies that were formed in the eighteenth
3
century. No other society has had such a long and useful life, and attracted so many talented individuals, or received so much praise and attention. It may be claimed, of course, that the Speculative Society

1. Bonar: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 29.

2. Small: Life of Adam Ferguson, page 2. Small made this statement in 1864, and although the first part of it is suspect, the latter applies to-day as much as it ever did.

3. There are two excellent histories of the Speculative Society, one was prepared in 1845, and the other in 1905. For other accounts see:- "Letters from John Bonar to William Creech concerning the

soon ceased to be merely a student's organization, as one of the original provisions of its constitution was that members were not to be dropped when they had progressed beyond ordinary attendance at the university, but were to be encouraged to remain within the organization, and to take an active part in its proceedings. From the beginning, also, there was no restriction as to the age of entrants. Although the greatest number of members entered between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, some were admitted before, and many after those limits. But this should not disguise the fact that the normal approach to ordinary membership in the Society, and the ordinary members did all the work, was as a student at the university. And this, of course, was the intention of the founders of the organization who were all, at the time they combined to organize the Speculative Society, students at the University of Edinburgh.

formation of the Speculative Society" (from the Book of the Old Edin. Club, Vol. 5, pages 163 to 190); R. Mackintosh: Life of Sir J. Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 26 f.; Cockburn: Life of Lord Jeffrey, Vol. 1, page 53 f.; Lockhart: Peter's Letters to his kinsfolk, Vol. 1, pages 170 f. (ltr. xv), and 261 f. (ltr. xxii); Lockhart: Life of Scott, Vol. 1, pages 239 f., and 303; Kudler: La Jeunesse de Benjamin Constant, page 165 f.; Bower: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, pages 145, 210, and 371 f. (Appendix AII); Cockburn: Memorials of his Time, pages 67 f., and 163 f., and 422; Stevenson: Works, Vol. 1, page 127, see also his Weir of Hermiston for a fictional treatment of the Society; "An Irish Student at Old Edinburgh" (from the Scots Magazine, March 1933, page 466.); Thomson: Scottish Man of Feeling, pages 62-64, 345; Grant: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, pages 330, and 485; and Dalzel: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 446, (Appendix). The Society is also briefly mentioned in the following works:- Scott: Heart of Midlothian, page 30, (fictional); Watkeys: Old Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 101; Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 156; Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday, October 1780; Caledonian Mercury, Wednesday, October 20, 1784; Brougham: Life, Vol. 1, pages 4, 52, and 244; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 338; (this note is continued at the bottom of the next page.)

1. History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 51.

"The Speculative Society was instituted on the 17th of November 1764, by six young gentlemen, who were pursuing their studies at the University of Edinburgh, the eldest of whom had not attained majority.

They were:-

William Creech.
Allan Maconochie.
Alexander Belshes.
John Bruce.
John Bonar.
John Mackenzie.

The first ordinary meeting was held on Friday, the 23d of November, when Mr. Creech read an essay on the advantages of literary institutions; and the first rude draft of the laws was approved of.¹

The intention of the six founders, of whom William Creech was the "moving spirit",² was that the new society should be devoted to "improvement in Literary Composition, and Public Speaking."³ The features of its constitution which have distinguished the Speculative Society from others of its class, "the limited membership, admission by ballot, compulsory duty, and the rigid exclusion of strangers, were all established from the beginning."⁴ The original members worked hard, and established a tradition

Matheson: Life of Henry Dundas, page 17, refers to Dundas as a member of the Speculative Society. This is an error. Matheson should have said the "Belles Lettres Society", see Chapter 4, page 200, above.
Mackenzie: Anecdotes and Egotisms, page 36, has made the same mistake, but his editor, (Thomson), has corrected him.

1. History of the Speculative Society, (1845), page 16.
2. History of the Speculative Society (1905), page 2.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, pages 2-3.

of serious regard for the obligations of membership. Details of the early activities of the Society are contained in a series of letters which John Bonar wrote to William Creech.¹ The subjects of the Society's debates, from 30th November, 1764, along with a list of members and the titles of the discourses they read before the Society, are contained in the History of the Speculative Society which was compiled in 1845.² Many of the subjects debated in the Speculative were also debated in the other debating societies which were active at the time.³

In 1769, the Society obtained permission from the Town-Council, then patrons of the University, to erect a hall upon a part of the college grounds.⁴ A building was erected at a cost of 164 pounds, and was paid for partly out of the Society's funds, and partly by subscriptions among the members. The "hall" had a "Coach Roof", arched windows, and was 25 feet long by 19 feet wide. In 1775, permission was obtained to enlarge the hall by adding a lobby.⁵ This building was occupied by the Speculative Society until it was demolished to make way for the

-
1. See the "Letters from John Bonar to William Creech concerning the formation of the Speculative Society" (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 5, pages 163-190.)
 2. Subjects of Debates, page 341 f., List of Members, page 70 f.
 3. See the following Appendixes D, p. 594; E, p. 602; and I, p. 639.
 4. History of the Speculative Society (1905), page 6.
 5. "Vol. XCII, (of the Town-Council Records), 7th June (1775). - Upon petition of the Speculative Society, the Town-Council allow them a piece of ground, twelve feet by eighteen, for enlarging the hall which the Council formerly allowed them, June 1769, to build within the College, to be solely appropriated to the use of the Society; and which was built accordingly." (Quoted in Dalziel: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, Appendix, page 446.)

construction of new college buildings.¹

The acquisition of a meeting hall was a stabilizing influence on the Society, and there does not seem to have ever been a serious threat that the chronic ailment of student's debating organizations, failing interest and a drying up of sources of new members, ever seriously threatened the existence of the Speculative. But this is not to say that the organization did not have its periods of depression and anxiety. From 1774 to 1780, despite the fact that the Society was able to subscribe one hundred pounds to the fund for raising a corps of Edinburgh Volunteers,² its members fell off to the point where it was necessary to appoint a committee - "a familiar symptom of ill-health"³ - "to consider how it might best be restored to its former flourishing state."⁴ In 1784, a library was started which acted as additional ballast to insure the stability of the organization, and a series of "fat years" ensued.⁵ But in 1789 to 1796 the fit of depression returned. Few new members joined, and meetings often failed for want of a quorum.⁶ It has been suggested that this was "owing almost entirely to the political conditions of the time,"⁷ but this has been

1. This happened in 1817, (History of the Speculative (1905), page 18.

2. Compare the Cape Clubs of Edinburgh and Glasgow, Chapter 9.

3. History of the Speculative Society (1905), page 6.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., page 8.

6. Ibid., page 9.

7. History of the Speculative Society, (1845), page 28.

1
called to question elsewhere. The measures suggested by a Committee
"that the Society at the present juncture should be cautious in admitting
2
as subjects of discussion or debate, the political topics of the day,"
however, indicate that feeling in the meetings ran high, and that it
was felt that political arguments were interfering with the proper work
of the association. This feeling was fully justified by the events
which followed. The crisis came in 1799, after a period which has been
3
described as "the most brilliant period in the Society's history."
The episode which led to a schism in the membership of the Society, and
which was entirely due to a recrudescence of political feelings, has
4
been described as follows:-

In 1799 political feeling brought about a serious crisis. The explosion was caused by Alexander Maconochie, afterwards the second Lord Meadowbank ('Lord Meadowbank also'), who on January 22, 1799 was reported to the Society as having said, "though advised by Mr. Fullarton to refrain from such words as they might lead him into a Scrape"; "In future I shall sit in the Society not only as a Member but as a Spy upon the conduct of the Society for the University."

"Mr. Maconochie," says the minute-book, "being called upon from the Chair to answer to the charges of having used such expressions, made the following declaration, which was taken down by the Secretary, viz.:- That in conversation with Mr. Fullarton he mentioned to him that he intended to be a Spy on, i.e. to take down the words of this night's debate, if they interfered with

-
1. See Chapter 5, page 294.
 2. History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 28-29, Dec. 1794.
 3. "The Membership was full, and included Lord Henry Petty, afterwards third Marquess of Lansdowne, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer at five-and-twenty, Henry Brougham, Francis Horner, John Archibald, Charles Kinnaird, James Moncreiff, and Henry Cockburn." (History of the Speculative Society, (1905), page 11.)
 4. History of the Speculative Society 1905, page 11 f.

questions of modern politics, in order that he might summon a general meeting of the Society, for the purpose of considering the propriety of resigning the privileges of the Society into the hands of the University, as such discussions being permitted were likely to produce within the walls of the University a political Society, perhaps a Jacobin Club."

Brougham was instantly on his legs, and moved a resolution, which, after setting forth Maconochie's misdeeds, declared "that Mr. Maconochie has been guilty of an high Insult to the honour of the Society, and has avowed the assumption of an office utterly inconsistent with the character of a Member of this Society." After a long and fierce debate the motion was carried.

A terrible storm followed. Many senior members took fright at the idea of being connected with so dangerous a body, and a shower of resignations came in. Ultimately a joint committee of the Town Council and the Senatus Academicus exculpated the Society from all blame. A resolution of 1794, prohibiting political debates, which had been rescinded in 1799, was restored. A lengthy address, framed by Jeffrey and Horner, was issued by the Society to its honorary and extraordinary members, narrating the whole story. It is printed in full in the History of 1845.

That the Speculative Society emerged from its ordeal, "which nothing¹ but its native vigour could have enabled it to survive," even stronger² than before speaks well for the determination and ability of its members. And it is, after all, the calibre of its members which has raised this Society to the reputation which it has enjoyed for over one hundred and fifty years. The list of members reads like a roll of honour of Scottish men of letters. William Smellie, Alexander Tytler, Hugo Arnot, Dugald Stewart, James Mackintosh, Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, Henry Brougham, Francis Horner, and Henry Cockburn, have all done honour to Scotland and to the Speculative Society in their works. But not only has the Society the reflected glory of such members, many of them have left behind them

1. History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 31.

2. Ibid, page 38.

glowing words of praise for the society which was the nursery for their talents. A chapter in the History of the Speculative Society of 1845, is devoted to "Testimonies to the Value of Debating Societies, and in Particular to the Speculative."¹ In this chapter one may read the favourable opinions of Sir Walter Scott, Sir Gilbert Blane, Sir James Mackintosh,² Benjamin Constant,³ Francis Horner, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Murray,⁴ and Lord Cockburn.

It is only to be expected, however, that not all the notice taken of this vigorous society should have been favourable. William Smellie, according to ^{his} biographer, though "only a little more removed from a boy than the original instigators of the Society, looked down upon them as triflers."⁵ And at the time of the crisis which occurred because of the political feelings of its members in 1799, it was thought in some circles that the Speculative Society was a hot-bed of sedition. It was suspected, and no doubt with some justification, that Jeffrey, Horner, Kinnaid, and Brougham favoured the cause of the French Revolutionists. Professor David Hume, a staunch Tory, was accused of having said publicly that "Those young men, like their masters the French, are evidently skilled in political arts."⁶ The quartet of

-
1. History of the Speculative Society-1845, page 61 f.
 2. See also R. Mackintosh: Life of J. Mackintosh, Vol. 1, page 26 f.
 3. Quoted in Rudler: La Jeunesse de Benjamin Constant, page 165 f.
 4. See also Cockburn: Life of Jeffrey, Vol. 1, page 53 f.; and his Memorials of his Time, page 67 f.
 5. Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 156.
 6. Brougham: Life, Vol. 1, page 52.

young radicals, "who probably revelled in their reputation,"¹ were called before Principal Robertson who "gently administered" a "reprimand (which) was perfectly justified" to Henry Brougham who was the only one who was well enough to attend.² Aside from these minor detractions, the opinion of outsiders as well as that of the members was overwhelmingly favourable to the Speculative Society.

The Speculative Society has made a number of appearances in fiction. Sir Walter Scott's young lawyers, of whom he wrote so well and so convincingly, carried in their pockets "old playbills, letters respecting a meeting of the Faculty, rules of the Speculative Society, syllabus of lectures - all the miscellaneous contents of a young advocate's pocket, which contains everything but briefs and bank notes."³ And Robert Louis Stevenson, who, in his own day, thought the Speculative Society "about the best thing in Edinburgh," used it as an important part of his plot⁴ for Weir of Hermiston, a novel with an eighteenth-century setting.

1. Thomson: Scottish Man of Feeling, page 345.

2. Jeffrey was "out of town," and the others were "too ill to attend," (Brougham: Life, Vol. 1, page 52.)

3. Scott: Heart of Midlothian, page 30. In his Life of Scott, Vol. 1, page 303, John Gibson Lockhart quotes this passage in a context which suggests that it came from Redgauntlet. "(Scott) like the young heroes in Redgauntlet, 'swept the boards of the Parliament house with the skirts of his gown; laughed, and made others laugh; drank claret at Bayle's, Fortune's and Walker's, and eat oysters in the Covenant Close.' On his desk 'the new novel most in repute lay snugly intrenched beneath Stair's Institute, or an open volume of Decisions;' and his dressing-table was littered with 'old playbills, letters respecting a meeting of the Faculty, Rules of the Speculative, Syllabus of Lectures - all the miscellaneous contents of a young advocate's pocket, which contains every thing but briefs and banknotes.'"

4. See Chapter 8, page 488.

In 1776, at a time when the Speculative Society was suffering a fit of depression, the students of divinity of the university of Edinburgh organized a Theological Society, the subject of which was¹ to discuss question interesting to the Faculty of Divinity. The early records of this society have been lost, but it has been claimed that "the names of some of the most distinguished ministers of² the Church of Scotland" were to be found on its list of members.

The Dialectic Society, established in 1787 and still in existence, claims to be the oldest University Society. In the History of the Dialectic Society, the distinction is drawn that whereas the Royal Medical Society and the Speculative Society "have their own Halls, Libraries, and other property," they have no "special connection with the University, though naturally it is from its past and present³ students that their members are chiefly drawn." This distinction enables the Dialectic Society to claim itself to be "older by twenty-⁴ eight years than the oldest of its sisters."

The Dialectic Society has suffered the same misfortune as the Theological Society, in losing its early records. The names of the first members, however, are known, and they are given, with the subjects⁵ of their essays they read, in the list of members appended to the History.

1. Grant: History of Edinburgh University, Vol. 2, page 485. For an earlier Theological Society in Edinburgh, see Chapter 4, page 205.

2. Bower: History of Edinburgh University, Vol. 3, page 265.

3. History of the Dialectic Society, pages ix-x.

4. Ibid, page x.

5. Ibid, (the list of members begins on page 135.)

The subjects of debates from 1791 are also listed in that volume, and may be compared with interest to those which I have included in the
¹
Appendixes to this thesis.

The Rules of the Society, as "adjusted and approved by a resolution
²
of February 18th, 1792," were as follows:-

Rules of the Dialectic Society.

- 1st. That the Society shall meet every Saturday evening at six o'clock and dismiss at nine.
- 2nd. That this Institution is principally intended for the benefit of Students who attend the University; but other gentlemen, of whose ability and moral character the Society is amply satisfied, may be admitted. A written petition must be given in before any gentleman can be received as a member.
- 3rd. That the Society shall at each meeting discuss a Philological, Moral, or Political Question, and choose another for the subsequent meeting. Appointed speakers on each side having spoken once, the Members shall be called to deliver their sentiments in order.
- 4th. That no Member shall be allowed to speak above ten minutes at once without the Society's special indulgence.
- 5th. That no personal invectives shall be indulged in the Society, nor anything prejudicial to the character of the Members reported out of it, under pain of expulsion.
- 6th. That the Members shall preside in regular rotation. The President to constitute the Society by prayer, to deliver an Essay not exceeding fifteen minutes in length before the Debate begin, - to preserve order and prevent wanton interruptions of speakers during the Debate, - and to support the dignity of the Society on all occasions. At the end of the Debate the president for next evening shall take the chair, and, in the meantime, he shall appoint the speakers, and close the meeting by prayer.

1. See Appendixes B, D, E, and I.

2. History of the Dialectic Society, pages x and xi.

- 7th. That the Society shall make their remarks on the President's Essay, but no criticism on Speeches shall be permitted.
- 8th. That Members who do not come forward within fifteen minutes after the hour of meeting, and those who absent themselves for one or more nights successively without producing a satisfactory excuse, shall pay a fine (in no case exceeding a shilling) if the Society think proper to exact it. Long absence without a good reason infers expulsion. But the object of this Society supposes that many of its Members must necessarily be absent during summer.
- 9th. That on ordinary occasions no Visitors shall be admitted without the Society's special indulgence. But it is proposed that this Society in its progress have a meeting once a month or fortnight, at which Members shall be desired to introduce as many gentlemen as they please. Visitors shall be invited to deliver their sentiments on the Questions they find under review.
- 10th. That Three Members shall be sufficiently authorised to constitute the Society and proceed to business.

"The backbone of the Society was at this time formed of young men studying for the Relief or Secession ministry, or at all events in some way connected with Disent."¹ As they were "very much in earnest," the Society, through the subjects of its debates, gives the impression of being a little owlsh and overly serious, but such faults as these are may readily be forgiven. Youth is sometimes a very serious responsibility.

One provision which the members of the Society stoutly adhered to² was that their meetings should be held within the precincts of the College. At a time when the only alternative places of meeting were probably the Edinburgh taverns, this is not to be wondered at. The use of College classrooms for such purposes was frequently suspended, but the Dialectic Society, as the narrator of its history relates, always persisted and

1. History of the Dialectic Society, page xii.

2. Ibid, page xv.

finally prevailed in its requests for the use of such rooms.¹

From the beginning of 1793, the war with France interrupted the normal intercourse with the continent, and English students, having nowhere else to go, and attracted by the growing reputation of Edinburgh as an intellectual centre, began to travel northwards. It was also during this period that a group of brilliant young men began their studies at the University of Edinburgh. From 1797 until the end of the century, the Speculative Society had "its most brilliant period," when Henry Brougham, Francis Jeffrey, Francis Horner, and Henry Cockburn were among its members.² But the Speculative was not the only society to be stimulated by this remarkable accumulation of talent. In December 1792, Henry Brougham and others established an association which they named the Juvenile Literary Society. Brougham, who had retained the Society's record book, gives the following description of the organization in his autobiography:³

"This Society was formed in December 1792; and at the first meeting, on the 22nd day of December 1792, received the name of the Juvenile Literary Society." (Quoted from the record-book)⁴

Then follows a list of the members, twenty-one in number, headed by my name as founder and first president. Among the first members

-
1. For other accounts of the Dialectic Society see:- History of the Speculative Society (1845), page 10; and Grant: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 485.
 2. History of the Speculative Society (1905), page 11.
 3. Brougham: Life, Vol. 1, page 83 f.
 4. "The minute-book of the society is preserved at Brougham Hall." (Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 389.) Following his account of the Juvenile Literary Society, Brougham gives a very interesting account of his activities, along with Jeffrey, and others, in the Speculative. (See Brougham: Life, Vol. 1, page 86 f., and Appendix IX, page 543.)

were Horner, Henry Mackenzie (afterwards Lord Mackenzie), John Forbes (afterwards Lord Medwyn), James Keay, who rose high at the bar; Andrew Wauchope, who distinguished himself in the Peninsular war; and Andrew Thomson, the eloquent preacher and leader in the Church Courts.

The laws were very strict. Absence without excuse, to be inquired into by a committee, was fined. Coming late, half an hour beyond the time of meeting, was also fined; and occasionally, though very rarely, expulsion was inflicted for repeated breach of the rules. The laws were sometimes revised by a committee of inquiry, and altered upon its report. At the end of the session and commencement of the six months' vacation a commission was appointed, on the model of that in the General Assembly, to look after the affairs of the society. The meetings were on Saturday morning, when there were no college classes. The members presided in rotation, and an essay was read from the chair, and submitted to criticism. The questions were put into a list, upon the report of a committee. One was given out for each meeting, and a member appointed to debate it on each side; any other afterwards taking part in the discussion. Many of the speeches were read, but sometimes an extempore debate was had on a question proposed by the president, without any notice. The politics of the day were generally excluded; but from a letter from Forbes (Lord Medwyn), addressed to the secretary in 1794, there appears to have been an apprehension of their introduction.

I see one debate was on theatrical representations being injurious to virtue, and decided in the negative by four to one. One the question whether Elizabeth was justified in putting Mary to death, I stood alone against Elizabeth, which shows that the answer I gave at Edinburgh two years ago had not been an opinion recently formed. Having attended the drawing-room given by Lady Belhaven (his Grace the Lord High Commissioner's wife), in Holyrood House, I was taken to see the chamber in which Rizzio had been murdered, and the queen's bedroom adjoining; and on my expressing the natural feeling of horror at the assassination, and the outrage also to her feelings, with some observation upon the conduct of Elizabeth, they said, "Then of course you consider Mary as innocent of all that has been laid to her charge." I answered, "Quite the contrary; I regard her conduct in the worst light possible as regards Scotland, my only doubt being upon her share in Babington's conspiracy."

On the question whether the lawyer or the divine is more useful to society, it was given in favour of the divine, - all the lawyers voting in the majority! That Brutus was unjustifiable in killing Caesar, was decided in the affirmative, as I well recollect, after an excellent speech by Horner on that side of the question. "Whether the prodigal is a worse member of society than the miser:" - I voted with the majority, Horner the other way. "Whether man is happier in a rude than in a civilised state;" - both Horner and I voted in the minority, I grieve to say, the

decision being for the civilised state. "That benevolence is a stronger principle of action than interest;" - Horner voted with the majority, I with the minority.¹

On looking over the rules and the proceedings of this society it is very remarkable to find the extreme regularity with which the business was conducted, and the order which prevailed; so that the example of these boys might be a lesson to their seniors in other assemblies.

From the Juvenile Literary Society, Brougham and a number of his friends graduated to the Literary Society which had been in existence at least since 1789, when Walter Scott was an active member.² But this collection of talented and energetic students was not content merely to participate in the opportunities which already existed. New ideas and new interests led to the organization of new societies, and Henry Cockburn has left an account of how he joined the Academical Society which has just been formed when he entered as a student at the University of
³
Edinburgh:-

The Academical rose in 1796, and, after a short though very active life, died of decline about 1816. It met in Playfair's class-room, which was then the great receptacle of youthful philosophers and orators. There were more essays read, and more speeches delivered, by ambitious lads, in that little shabby place than in all Scotland. If it had been preserved it would have been near the centre of the new library. No part of my training did me so much good as this society. The Speculative, which I joined a few years later, was a higher and a more serious field; but it was the Academical plough that first opened the soil. It was here that I got my first notions of composition and debate, and that that delightful feeling of free doubting and independent discussion, so necessary for the expansion and manliness of young minds, was excited.

1. Compare these questions with those listed in Appendixes B, D, E, and I.
2. History of the Speculative Society, (1845), page 12; Lockhart: Life of Scott, Vol. 1, page 206, 229, and 232; Grierson: Letters of Sir Walter Scott, Vol. 3, page 17, note.
3. Cockburn: Memorials of his Time, page 24; Journal, Vol. 1, page 4.

From the Literary Society, in January 1797, there also arose another discussion society, this time of a scientific cast, which was called the Academy of Physics. An excellent and detailed account of this organization has been written by David Welsh in his biography of Thomas Brown, who¹ was one of the outstanding members of the Academy:-

In 1797 a few of the members of the Literary Society formed themselves into another association, more select, to which they gave the name of the Academy of Physics. The object of this institution was somewhat more ambitious than that of the former, and is set forth in the minute of their first meeting to be "the investigation of nature, the laws by which her phenomena are regulated, and the history of opinions concerning these laws." At this meeting, which was held on the 7th of January, there were present Messrs. Erskine, Brougham, Reddie, Brown, Rogerson, Birbeck, Logan, and Leyden. These gentlemen were afterwards joined by Lord Webb Seymour, Messrs., Horner, Jeffrey, Smyth, Gillespie, and many others.

For some time the society proceeded with great spirit, - and in the papers that were read, and in the conversation that took place upon them, were sown the germs that afterwards developed themselves in works that have occupied much of the public attention. Among the most active of the members were Messrs. Brougham, Horner, and Dr. Brown; and the institution owed much to the truly philosophic spirit and excellent sense of Mr. Reddie. Dr. Brown having been secretary to the society at the time it was dissolved, the various documents connected with it were found among his papers. From the documents some extracts will be found at the end of this volume, which will be read with interest, not merely as calculated to afford information respecting the early studies of Dr. Brown, but also as affording materials for the literary history of the age.²

The meetings of the society continued with considerable regularity about three years, when, from various causes, the interest that was taken in it began to decline. The last entry in the minute book is of date 1st May, 1800. It is written in pencil, and is as follows: - "Present, Lord Webb Seymour, Messrs., Brougham, Reddie, Copland, Horner, Brown, Bennet, Craig, Lang. Some articles were read from the Memoirs relating to Egypt by the learned men who accompanied the French expedition."

1. Welsh: Life and Writings of Thomas Brown, page 77. See also Cockburn: Life of Jeffrey, Vol. 1, page 103; Campbell: Lives of Lord Chancellors, Vol. 8, page 234.

2. I have included these extracts as Appendix J, page 646 f.

The Academy of Physics will be interesting in the history of letters, not merely on account of the distinguished names that are to be found in the list of its members, but also as having given rise to a publication which has been conducted upon more liberal principles, displayed a greater proportion of talent, and exercised a greater influence upon public opinion, than any other similar work in the republic of letters. It can scarcely be necessary to add, that I allude to the Edinburgh Review.

Welsh now begins to quote from the records, giving the details of the first of the resolutions which led to the organization, and a transcript of the rules and regulations:-

The following gentlemen having resolved to form themselves into an association, for the investigation of Nature, the laws by which her phenomena are regulated, and the history of opinions concerning these laws, and to consider preliminary business.

Mr. Erskine, President.

Mr. Brougham.

Mr. Birbeck.

Mr. Reddie.

Mr. Logan.

Mr. Brown.

Mr. Leyden.

Mr. Rogerson.

The following associated gentlemen were absent:

Dr. Robert Anderson, Honorary Member.

Mr. Robert Robertson.

Mr. Craig, Corresponding Member.

Mr. Lang.

After the Meeting was constituted, it was resolved that the Association should be denominated the Academy of Physics.

Mr. Brougham proposed to the Academy a plan of business, which was adopted with a few modifications.

Section I.

The objects of the Academy shall be,

1. Pure Mathematics, or the Philosophy of Quantity.
2. Mixed Mathematics, or the Philosophy of Motion and its Effects, comprehending subjects in which the data are inductive, and the reasoning mathematical.
3. The Physics of Matter, or the Philosophy of Body, in which the data and reasonings are both inductive.
4. The Physics of Mind, or the Philosophy of Mind, excluding religious controversies and party politics. Mind is either general or individual, the physics of the former we term general politics.

5. The History of Events, Opinion, Systems, etc.

Section II.

The Academy shall consist of Ordinary, Honorary, and Corresponding Members.

1. The duty of Ordinary Members shall be to attend the Meetings of the Society, to communicate observations on papers read, and to share with the Academy their discoveries, improvements, and inquiries, especially on scientific subjects. Every Ordinary Member must attend at least once a month under penalty of writing a paper, on the refusal of which he incurs the penalty of ten shillings, and sixpence. Attendance on business shall not be compulsory farther than thus specified; but if any Member accept an office, he shall attend under the penalty of five shillings for every willful omission. Every Ordinary Member shall give in his paper the Meeting before it be read, and shall announce it the Meeting before he gives it in. He must write it on paper of a certain size, that it may be bound up, if voted; and the paper must circulate among the Members the week before it is discussed, and the last Member must leave the paper in the Academy room on the day of meeting, under the penalty of half a crown. The Academy may request any Member or Committee of Members, to investigate any particular point in such subjects as their studies or taste may have led them particularly to pursue. In like manner, a committee may be named to examine any new and interesting publication, discovery, etc., and report on such to the Academy. On a motion to that purpose, a Committee may be named to try any new and instructive experiment or experiments, or course of experiments which the Society shall please to institute. If any of the Academicians wish to perform an experiment of his own, he must perform it before the Academy at his own expense. To the account of new experiments undertaken by the Academy, the name of the proposer or proposers shall be affixed, unless it shall have suffered such alterations as to render it the property of several. The new conclusions drawn from old facts and experiments, shall render the experiment in a great degree the property of the arguers or reasoners.
2. The duty of Corresponding Members shall be to communicate to the Academy such observations as shall seem worthy of its attention. They shall be elected unanimously from gentlemen well known for their abilities.

Two dissenting voices shall exclude an Ordinary Member; no ballot shall be admitted, but reasons of opposition and support may be stated.

Section III.

The order of business shall be,

1. Minutes of last Meeting read and revised.
2. Private business, as funds, etc., settled, reports of the business of Committees received.
3. Philosophical news discussed, and notices of new publications given in.
4. Committees of inquiry and experiment named.
5. Reports of Committees of inquiry and experiment received.
6. Regular papers read and conversed on.
7. Communications of correspondents considered.
8. Papers noticed, given in, and appointed.

Section IV.

Office-bearers shall be named at the first Meeting of the Academy, and continued during pleasure.

1. A President to superintend.
2. A Secretary to take concise minutes of what passes, to correspond officially with those gentlemen who shall be elected Corresponding Members, or other correspondents not Members, and to superintend the binding of papers, etc.
3. A Treasurer to keep the cash-account of receipt and expenditure, and to give out such sums for experiments, books, etc., as the Academy shall vote.

Section V.

1. Every Member on admittance shall pay five shillings.
2. Every Member shall pay sixpence weekly.
3. Donations of apparatus, books, etc., shall be received.
4. Books purchased shall be proposed by the Committee, and then voted by the Academy.

Messrs. Leyden and Logan were appointed Secretaries, and Mr. Lang Treasurer; it was resolved to choose Presidents pro tempore every Meeting.

Messrs. Brougham, Rogerson, and Birbeck, were appointed a Committee to examine the Philosophical Transactions of London for 1796, p. ii.

Mr. Birbeck was appointed to examine Priestley's Experiments on Atmospheric Air.

The Academy then adjourned to Saturday 14th January.¹

1. For the minutes of subsequent meetings, see Appendix J, page 646 f.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the town of Glasgow, which an English visitor described as "the most uniform and prettiest" he had ever seen, was, with its population of 12,500, scarcely more¹ than a large village. It had, moreover, "a reputation for sanctity to keep up," as "the covenanting spirit had ever been keenest in the West Country."² These circumstances combined to make the intellectual and social surroundings of the College of Glasgow much narrower than in the Scottish capital. It was undoubtedly for this reason that the student clubs and societies in Glasgow had, until well past the middle of the century, a much more tempestuous reception than those which were organized in Edinburgh. But it was not only the narrowness of its scene that tended to create "alarms and excursions" whenever the subject of student's clubs was mentioned. Glasgow was among the first Scottish towns to feel the full impact of new ideas, just as she was the first to feel the effects of the new opportunities for wealth which had been opened by the Treaty of Union in 1707. In accepting new techniques, new trades, and new commercial enterprises, the western town could not exclude, nor, indeed, did it seriously attempt to do so, the new attitudes and interests which accompanied them. The arrival, in 1726, of Francis Hutcheson, "the dean of the Scottish enlightenment," a teacher who "disputed no dogma, and taught no heresy as he discussed the beauty of moral virtue, descanted on the harmony of the passions, and the

1. Burt: Letters from the North, Vol. 1, page 22.

2. Graham: Social Life in Scotland, page 136. See also, to capture the spirit of the early century in Glasgow, Wodrow: Analecta, passim.

dignity of human nature," was symbolic of the many changes which had come to Glasg¹ow.

But even before Hutcheson's arrival, the impact of new systems of thought were being felt, and new interests were being stimulated among the students of the College. Student's discussion groups, which were a normal result of the new ideas and the new interests, became a source of anxiety to the "orthodox" divines of the town and its College. And the College authorities themselves, feeling perhaps that their authority was somehow being questioned and criticized, adopted a repressive policy toward these societies, and, as a result, a situation rapidly developed which reflected little credit upon those who were involved in it.

In the year 1720, the students of the College attempted to produce two plays, Cato and Tamerlane. When one considers the seventeenth-century Presbyterian attitude toward the theatre, an attitude which still largely persisted, it is little wonder that the students and the College authorities soon fell out over the issue.² A series of misunderstandings ensued, in which neither the College's actions nor the student's attitude of defiance had any large claims to reason.

1. Hutcheson lectured "not in dull, obscure Latin like his colleagues, but in eloquent English, albeit with an Irish brogue." (Graham: Social Life in Scotland, page 352. See also his Scottish Men of Letters, page 30 f.

2. The students eventually succeeded in producing one play. See the Prologue and Epilogue to Tamerlane: Acted in the Grammar School in Glasgow, December 30th, 1720: By the Students of the University. Glasgow: Printed by William Duncan, 1721. See also the pamphlet described in note 2, page 399, below. The College authorities had provoked the students by first granting permission to produce the play within the College, only to rescind their permission afterwards.

The student's protests, however, also included an extremely sensible criticism of the Professor of Anatomy who refused to teach because he was not provided with an operator.¹ An Irish student by the name of John Arbuckle, who had already had some success as an author in his prologue to Tamerlane, in which he twitted the College Faculty for their reluctance to permit the play to be staged in the College, now produced² a pamphlet in which all the student's grievances were reviewed.

Arbuckle's pamphlet presents a long and involved story in which the author appears in the role of a champion of student's rights, and the Principal of the College and the Professor of Divinity, John Simson,³ appear as his persecutors. When he comes to the subject of student's societies, one of which seems to have been, under Arbuckle's leadership,⁴ responsible for most of the trouble, he writes as follows:-

The P^l and P^r of D. now found themselves so far sunk in the Opinions of the Students, that they could not imagine how half a Dozen of them could meet together without talking ill of them. They thought it would not only prevent that ill Consequence, but likewise hinder the Students, who they found, still continued pretty uneasie under the Loss of their Privileges, from propagating the Spirit of Liberty, to break any Clubs or

-
1. See the pamphlet described in the next note.
 2. "A Short Account of the Late Treatment of the Students of the University of G^w." by (James Arbuckle). Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1722. For Arbuckle's prologue to Tamerlane see the publication of the play described in note 2, page 398, above.
 3. The Principal at this time was Gershom Carmichael. Simson, who was not above suspicion of heterodoxy himself, and who was several times called before the Synod of the Church of Scotland on questions concerning the doctrine he taught, "was unpopular with the students who considered him overbearing and an enemy to the clubs. He and some other members of the Faculty were anxious to dissolve them, but no ground for so doing could be found." (Murray: Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, page 512.)
 4. "A Short Account etc.", page 20 f.

friendly Societies they might have among them: One they had heard of, which for some time had been a great eye-sore to them; and that in a particular manner, because several of the Students who had signalized themselves in Defence of the Liberties of the College, were Members of it. This Club met once a week, and with no other Design in the World than to discourse upon Matters of Learning for their mutual Improvement. The Nature of their Business and the Numbers of their Members, necessarily excluded every Thing, either Political or Personal, from their Conversation. In such promiscuous Company, it would have been both imprudent and unmannerly to obtrude upon them any thing of that Nature. The Evidence they had given for a considerable Time, of their being not only a harmless, but a profitable Society, were such, that several Gentlemen of good Characters in the City of Glasgow, thought it no ill Complement to be received as Members. And even some Ministers of the Church, were not only pleased to honour the Club occasionally with their Attendance, but to take a Part in the Business of it, by imparting their Thoughts in writing upon some Questions of Importance that happened to be handled in it. All this, one would have thought, might have secured it from the Malice of any one, against particular Members. Only People of such penetration as the P____l, and P____r of D. could have discovered any thing Dangerous, or Criminal, in their Meeting. But the true Reasons of their declaring against it were disguised, and a great Outcry raised, that the Members, who were at first chiefly English and Irish Men, were a Set of Latitudinarians, Free-thinkers, Non-subscribers, and Bangorians, and in a Word, Enemies to the Jurisdictions, Powers, and Divine authority of the Clergy. This was a heavy Charge, but because it could not be well supported, it was judged necessary only to whisper these things among Friends, that so the neighbouring People, might receive ill Impressions of them, and such Members as were Students in the P____r of D. 's Hall, frightened from further Attendance on the Club. Whatever Success they might have in the first of these Designs, they were very far from succeeding in the second. For the Members of the Club, instead of being deterred from coming to it, were by this Means the more strongly fixed in their Resolutions of sticking by it.

This Scheme for hindering Meetings among the Students failing, the P____r of D. found it necessary to go a greater Length, and discharge all his Scholars, on the first Convention of his Hall, from joyning in any Clubs or private Societies whatever, under the severe Penalty, of being turned out of his Hall. And in his Speech he gave such broad Hints against that particular Club, that they thought fit to send him a Deputation of Four of their Members, to know his Reasons for treating them in such an ungentlemanly Manner. He protested to them that he had nothing to charge them with; and that he believed them to be a very profitable and useful Society, but he would suffer none of his Students to go into a publick House, or if they did he would immediately expel them, it being against the express Laws of the College. This the Gentlemen knowing not to be true, took the Freedom to deny, and therefore acquainted him with their Resolution of still keeping up the Club, and standing the utmost Censure he

could inflict upon them. The P_____r finding nothing was to be done this way, and sensible he could not put his Threats in Execution, there being no Law to hinder Students who had passed their Course of Philosophy in the College, from meeting together as often as they pleased; it became necessary in order to demolish the Club, as they phrased it, to procure a Law to be passed in Faculty discharging all such Meetings. The Heads of such a Law were accordingly brought in, under the grave Title of An Act to Suppress Immorality. The Reasons alledged for it were chiefly That it would strengthen their former Rules, under which they had laid the Students in the Lower Classes; and that seeing those Students were bound by such Regulation, it was fit the more advanced Students, and particularly those of Divinity, should be brought under the same, because their Example gave Encouragement to the younger Boys to haunt publick Houses. To this it was answered, that their Laws were already sufficient to prevent Immorality, by punishing it when ever it appeared; That it was a Hardship to hinder Gentlemen who were come to the Years of Discretion, from enjoying their innocent Diversion, and the Conversation of their Friends, which in their own Season were among the most important Businesses of Life; that People might be justly punished for the Abuse of Liberty; but to take Liberty away to prevent its being abused, was a Tyrannical Practice that ought not to take place among a free People; and that the Example of the elder Students could no more influence the younger Sort than that of the Masters, who by this Rule of reasoning, ought in like Manner to be hindered from going into a Tavern, or drinking a Glass of Wine with their Friends. But these were Arguments of very little Weight, with People resolved to carry their Point, Right or Wrong. The last of them indeed they were forced to find a Solution for, which was, that the Masters had a Power to make Rules for their Scholars, but were not obliged to confine themselves to them.

Great Endeavours were used to get this Law passed, and several Faculties held about it, but the Students making a general Murmur against it, the Committee who were appointed to draw it up, brought in a favourable Clause, allowing them the Liberty of going sometimes to a Tavern, provided one or more of the Masters were in Company with them; which was saying in Effect, that the Students should drink no Claret, without giving them a Share of it. However the Scandal of these Proceedings, and the Resolution of the Students not to submit to their impositions, had such Effect upon the Majority of the Masters, that they could not agree about the Law, but laid it entirely aside, to the no small Mortification of the P_____l and P_____r of Divinity.

The attitude of the orthodox to these student organizations has been faithfully recorded by Robert Wodrow, a tireless but never a tiresome author who saw and heard everything, and managed to write most of it down. The

first rumours of impending changes came from Edinburgh where the Rankenian Club had been active for a number of years:-¹

I find it is suspected that there was a design at the last Communion at Glasgow in getting a peculiar set of helpers, that there has been a club at Edinburgh for some years, Mr. Wishart, Mr. Telfer, Mr. Wallace, were all members of it, who were of opinion that we're in a way of too narrow thinking in this country; and that some of the younger students inclined to have some greater freedom of thoughts; and a tryall was to be made how notions of liberty and searching (ie. into the theological questions) would go down. But Mr. Telfer failed, and only Mr. Wallace came. What is in this, time must discover.

A year later, Woodrow takes note of a student's organization which he² calls the Triumpherian Club:-

January, (1725) - At Glasgow the debates among the Students continue; and make no little noise. There seems to be a humor getting in among them of opposing Confessions, and exalting reason, under pretence of search after truth. The Triumpherian Club, (Woodrow afterwards calls it the "Trinampherian Club", see below), they say is renewed with new vigor there, and they talk Mr. Harvey is writing in defence of Mr. Wallace's Sermon upon Reason. They say Mr. Wishart meets with that Club; which, if true, is a strange step, and he is ill-advised. The Non-subscribers in Ireland give it out that he is the Minister of Scotland they have their eye most upon, and one of the brightest men in it. Some thing in his extemporary tryalls begin (now) to be talked of. Mr. George Campbell interrogat him upon the equality of the Son with the Father. He gave an answer in the words of others, not his own, that a subordination was spoke of by many ancient writers. At the approbation, Mr. Campbell declared his dissatisfaction as to what he had spoken the words of others, and not his own...

The next report tells of some difficulties which the Professor of Divinity had gotten into because of the doctrines he was teaching. This

-
1. Woodrow: Analecta, Vol. 3, page 175 (year 1724). Compare the names which Woodrow mentions to those contained in the list of members of the Rankenian Club given on page 69, Chapter 3, above.
 2. Woodrow: Analecta, Vol 3, page 178, (year 1725). See also Murray: Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, page 512; also Murray's notebooks, (in manuscript), in the Murray Collection in the Glasgow University Library, especially Volume 3, page 1620, where he quotes Woodrow: Analecta, 4, p. 189, to the effect that "Hutcheson declined to go to the clubs."

was John Simson who was accused several times of divergence from the accepted creeds of the day, but was always absolved of blame. Wodrow

¹
writes:-

February 1725. - On the first Wensday of this moneth, the Presbytery of Glasgou, after dinner, when the Professor was present, fell a talking upon the rumors going about the Students inclining to loosnes. Ther wer severall harsh expressions uttered by the Professor to Mr. Gray, who bore all. he said, "that matter lay not before the Presbytery." Upon which the Act of Assembly about him was read; and he said, "Mr. Gray was about to take up Mr. Webster's cudgell;" and he defyed him. The huffing temper that appears, I doubt (will) breed confusion. I find many displeased at the Professor's carriage, and he compleans of Mr. G(ray) and H(arvey?) spreading groundles storys of him throu the country Ministers and threatens to pursue them. He said he would rather burn the cases than lay them before the Presbytery: which is very ill taken. The case about Original Sin, and that about Impartiall Search after Truth, that on the vii of Romans, was corrected by the Professor, and that about hardning Pharaoh's heart is talked of. The Professor says, some years since ther wer cases that might have made noise as well as nou; as that in defence of the Laufulness of Officious Lying, which he amended; and that of the Unlaufulness of the Oath to the Gibeonites, which he corrected; that might have made noise as well as what is at present. The Principal and Professor have the case about Originall Sin in correction. But the origo mali is suffering these rau, unripe youths, to medle with what they are unequall to, without a preses able² to keep them right; which was never alloued in my father's time.

The Triumpherian Club, now called the Trinampherian Club by Wodrow, again appears, along with others, in a further account of the iniquities of the Student's clubs:-

(February 1725). - I hear of neu Clubs setting up in Glasgou, or neu names given to former Clubs. The Trinampherian Club, knouen since by the name of Mr. T. Hary's Club, nou in honour of Mr. Wisheart, have taken the name of the Sophacardian Club,

1. Wodrow: Analecta, Vol. 3, page 181.

2. I do not pretend to understand Wodrow's obscure theological references, but I seem to recall reading somewhere that these cases were set before the students by Simson as a test of their reasoning and powers of argument. The arguments were undoubtedly carried over into the clubs, where conclusions might possibly diverge from the accepted standard, hence Wodrow's concern.

Suchanan's name for Mr. George Wisheart. They have, I hear, given to Mr. Wisheart that subject, "The Rule of morall goodness," and his brother, Mr. G(eorge) at Edinburgh, "Whither it was possible for God to make this systeme of the sun better than it is." The Students, who affect to be persons of bright parts, have a Club they call the Eleutherian Club, and some others affect the name of the Anticapadocian Club, because the Capadocians wer willing to surrender their libertys tamely to the Romans. The Clubs are like to have very ill influence on religion. People meet in them without any solid grave person to moderat, and give a loose to their fancy and enquirys, with(out) any stated rule of them or any solid principles. They declaim against reading, and cry up thinking.

From some members of some of these, I hear a farce is writt on the Ministers of the toun, and what has happened of late about the Professor; where the Principal gets the name of M____b____o; the Pr(ofessor) of Whiffler; Mr. Gray, Archy; Mr. L_____, Holy; Mr. Coats, Curly; and Mr. W(ebster), the President; and some of them are brought in as opposing reason. It's a dull heavy thing, and is to be sent over to Arbuckle, they say, to revise and correct, and print. Matters are come to a sad pass, when people begin openly to mock and ridicul Gospell Ministers; that sapps and stricks at the root of all religion!¹

A final lament on the wickedness of Glasgow youth comes from

2

Wodrow in 1729:-

March 1729. - I hear lamentable accounts of the growth of most corrupt and loose principles at Glasgou among the young people, merchants, and others; and do not wonder at it. There is little care taken in their education and founding in the principles of religion; they never wait on catechising; they have multitudes of corrupt books among their hands; and clubs, wher every thing that is serious is ridiculed. And at Edinburgh, they say, ther are many turned Deists, and that it's exceeding common ther to mock at all religion and seriousness.

By the time that Alexander Carlyle attended the University of Glasgow, fourteen years later, student societies had become a tolerated if not an accepted part of the student's social and intellectual life. Carlyle, who is extremely nice as to the details of the societies

1. Wodrow: analecta, Vol. 3, page 183, (year 1725).

2. Ibid, page 31, Vol. 4, (year 1729).

of which he¹ was a member, has given us accounts of two student organizations which were active in the years 1743 and 1744:-

I was admitted a member of two clubs, one entirely literary, which was held in the porter's lodge at the College, and where we criticised books and wrote abridgements of them, with critical essays; and to this society we submitted the discourses which we were to deliver in the Divinity Hall in our turns, when we were appointed by the professor. The other club met in Mr. Dugald's tavern near the Cross, weekly, and admitted a mixture of young gentlemen, who were not intended for the study of theology. There met there John Bradefoot, afterwards minister of Dunsire; James Leslie, of Kilmarnock; John Robertson, of Dunblane; James Hamilton, of Paisley and Robert Lawson, of London Wall. There also came some young merchants, such as Robin Bogle, my relation; James and George Anderson, William Sellar and Robin Craig. Here we drank a little punch after our beefsteaks and pancakes, and the expense never exceeded 1s. 6d., seldom 1s.

Our conversation was almost entirely literary; and we were of such good fame, that some ministers of the neighbourhood, when occasionally in Glasgow, frequented our club. Hyndman had been twice introduced by members; and being at that time passing his trials as a probationer before that presbytery in which his native town of Greenock lay, he had become well acquainted with Mr. Robert Paton, minister of Renfrew, who, though a man well accomplished and of liberal sentiments, was too much a man of worth and principle not to be offended by licentious manners in students of divinity. Hyndman, by way of gaining favour with this man, took occasion to hint to him to advise his nephew, Robert Lawson, not to frequent our club, as it admitted and encouraged conversation not suitable to the profession we were to follow. He mentioned two instances, one of which Lawson said was false, and the other disguised by exaggeration. Lawson, who was a lad of pure morals, told me this; and as the best antidote to this injurious impression, which had been made chiefly against me, I begged him to let his uncle know that I would accept of the invitation he had given through him, to pass a night or two with him at Renfrew. We accordingly went next Saturday, and met with a gracious reception, and stayed all next day and heard him preach, at which he was thought to excel (though he was almost the only person who read in those days, in which he truly excelled); and being a very handsome man, his delivery much enhanced the value of his composition. We heard him read another sermon at night in his study, with much

1. Carlyle: Autobiography, page 85 f. See also:- Murray: Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, page 52; and Fyfe: Scottish Diaries 1550-1746, page 411.

satisfaction, as he told us it was one of his best, and was a good model; to this we respectfully assented, and the good man was pleased. When we took leave on Monday morning, he politely requested another visit, and said to me, with a smile, he was now fortified against talebearers. These societies contributed much to our improvement; and as moderation and early hours were inviolable rules of both institutions, they served to open and enlarge our minds.

by 1768, however, Glasgow students were once again antagonizing their masters. In this year there were two clubs active. One, called the General Society, was a harmless debating society; but the other, the Parliament of Oceana, "the parliament of a fictitious republic,"¹ soon had the entire College in an uproar. The trouble started when a student named David Woodburn stated that "more good was to be got by attending the theatre, than the drowsy shops of Logic and Metaphysics."² The latent resentment of the Glasgow Faculty against the student clubs was, by this offhand remark, once more provoked, and a majority of that respectable body determined on bringing the speaker on trial before the Rector's court, "and raked up a number of disrespectful things which Woodburn had said: - that adversity is more favourable to virtue than prosperity, that pulpit sermons were too doctrinal and that morality might be better taught by the theatre, that the merchants of Glasgow were sordidly avaricious and their ladies sat up too late playing cards."³ This was the situation of 1722 all over again, and both sides were distinguished only by their bad manners and mutual resentments. "After a nine day's trial", David Woodburn "was found

1. Murray: Memories of the Old College of Glasgow, page 517.

2. Ibid, page 187.

3. Ibid, page 517.

guilty and admonished." "The substance of this trial is given by the Rev. William Thom of Govan in The Trial of a Student at the College of Clutha, in the Kingdom of Oceana."¹

Nine years later things had apparently cooled down once more as there were, "in 1776, ... three societies, the Eclectic, the Dialectic, and the Academic." John Jamieson, the author of the Scottish Dictionary, was a member of all three, "and records that the meetings were held in the college class rooms and were well attended by students and visitors 'and sometimes the professors graced the ingenious youths with their presence and encouraged to diligence.'"² Another ten years was to prove, however, that the feelings between the Faculty of the University of Glasgow and the members of student's societies were to be a perennial problem for nearly the whole of the century. In 1787, when Francis Jeffrey, then a student at the University, was a member of two societies, The Historical and Critical, and the Elocution, he left the College with bitter memories of the actions of the Faculty. Jeffrey's biographer, Lord Cockburn, describes his career as a student and as a member of the two student societies as follows:-³

Some of the pupils (of Jardine's class) formed themselves into the Elocution Society, which met every Monday evening, for their improvement in recitation. From recitation to acting is but a short step, and, accordingly, they meant to have performed *Tancred and Sigismunda*, when Principal Macfarlane was to have shone

-
1. Printed in Glasgow, 1768, (Murray: Memories of Glasgow College, page 186.)
 2. Murray: Memories of Glasgow College, page 518. See also his Notebooks, in the Murray Collection in the University of Glasgow Library. The Eclectic Society was in existence as early as 1771. See the speech "spoken before the Ec____t____c Society in Glasgow upon the celebrated question whether the rude or civilized state is most to be preferred." (Scots Magazine, June 1771, pages 289 - 292.)
 3. Cockburn: Life of Lord Jeffrey, Vol. 1, page 14.

as Rodolpho, and Jeffrey as Sigismunda. But as an apartment within the college was to have been the theatre, the academical authorities stopped the scheme, to the rage of the disappointed actors. On the last page of his notes of Professor Arthur's Lectures, Jeffrey sets forth that, before finally leaving the college, he had one thing to "advise, to declare, to reprobate, to ask, and to wish." - "What I have to advise is, Mr. Arthur and the Principal to pay a little more attention to the Graces in their respective modes of lecturing and praying." - "What I declare is, that the Faculty has acted in the meanest, most illiberal, and despicable manner with regard to the Elocution Club."

In his second session he disclosed himself more satisfactorily. Principal Macfarlane says "He broke upon us very brilliantly. In a debating society called, I think, the Historical and Critical, he distinguished himself as one of the most acute and fluent speakers; his favourite subjects being criticism and metaphysics.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, the poet Campbell was a student at the University of Glasgow. Campbell was very active in the student societies of the day, and, indeed, is credited with having been the founder of the Discursive Society which was "much frequented by the students of the Law and Logic classes."¹ The Discursive, however, was preceded by an earlier society which Campbell's biographer describes² as follows:-

In the course of the winter Session, an original debating club, out of which sprang the "Discursive", was formed among the students. The members assembled once a-week at each other's lodgings, but chiefly in those of Mr. Hamilton Paul, then studying Theology. "Campbell," says this gentleman, in his recollections of those meetings, "was a strenuous supporter of this club; and, although the youngest among us, was the most fluent speaker." But a difference took place on account of some warm and unguarded "speeches," and threatened the dissolution of the society. Mr. Paul, however, wrote a poem which reconcilled the belligerents. It described a levee of the heathen gods, held on Mount Olympus. A keen debate commenced, and a quarrel ensued. The speeches were given: - Campbell was Cupid, Paul was Mercury, and the other divinities were personated by several of their class-fellows. Cupid's

1. Beattie: Life of Campbell, Vol. 1, page 80.

2. Ibid, Vol. 1, page 61 f.

speech was greatly admired:-

"They all confessed 'twas wondrous in a child!"

and Campbell himself thought he had never listened with half so much pleasure to any "imputed speech." Harmony was restored; but the club languished, and, at length, died of sheer inanition. At this stirring period, the spirit of rivalry was at its height among the young students. By incessant cultivation, all the powers of intellect were quickened, like hot-house plants, into premature growth and activity. Other clubs were soon organised; and other excitements, to friendly competition among the younger Academics as quickly followed. The oratorical displays of the evening - often prolonged till midnight - were the almost exclusive topics of the following day's conversation in the class-rooms, and on the College Green.

Campbell himself wrote of the Discursive Society, in which he was¹
a "popular orator", as follows:-

There was, moreover, a debating society called the "Discursive," (Campbell was speaking of the same College Session as above), composed almost entirely of boys as young as myself; and I was infatuated enough to become a leader in this spouting club. It is true that we had promising spirits among us; and in particular could boast of Gregory Watt, son of the immortal Watt, a youth unparalleled in his early talent for eloquence. With melodious elocution, great acuteness in argument, and rich, unfailing fluency of diction, he seemed born to become a great orator; and, I have no doubt, would have shone in Parliament had he not been carried off by consumption in his five-and-twentieth year...."

The Discursive Society was induced by Campbell to challenge the Juridical Society, an organization of law students, to a public trial² of their powers of debate. Henry Duncan, a member of the Juridical³ Society of Glasgow, relates how this was accepted by them:-

-
1. Beattie: Life of Campbell, Vol. 1, pages 81-82.
 2. "The late Henry Duncan, of Ruthwell, D. D., founder of the Parish 'Saving Banks,' formerly Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland." (Ibid, page 80.)
 3. Ibid, Vol. 1, page 83.

The students of the Law class to which we belonged, were the seniors of those who attended the Logic class by one or two years; and we, regarding this challenge as presumptuous and insulting, indignantly rejected it. This, on the other hand, mortified the pride and excited the anger of our opponents; and in a few days the whole college was ringing with a satirical effusion written by Tom Campbell, in which every member of the "Juridical" - myself included - was held up to ridicule in no very measured terms.

In looking back upon his experience in the student organizations of his time, Duncan, who was writing to Thomas Campbell's biographer, expresses the general view of the purpose and the value of such
1
societies in the Scottish Universities:-

Having been yourself an Edinburgh student, you are well aware of the literary societies and debating clubs which prevail in our northern Universities; and which, I believe, form a peculiar feature in our academical employments. They are, as you know, voluntary associations among the students themselves, with which the Professors in no respect interfere - except, perhaps, occasionally in the case of individual students, in whom they may chance to have a peculiar interest. The object of these associations is literary discussion, on given topics; and their effect is to call forth and stimulate the talents of the young men, and excite among them a salutary emulation....

And with this fine tribute to a deserving class of eighteenth-century literary societies, I close this chapter.

1. Beattie: Life of Campbell, Vol 1, pages 81-82.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ACADEMIES OF ART.

Despite the perfectly valid objection that can be made that Academies of Art have little or nothing to do with literary societies, I have determined to include a short chapter on them in my thesis. Fundamentally, this decision has been made on the basis of personal inclination. It could easily be shown that if I elect to deal with these organizations, I should also devote some space to musical society's as well. My answer to this, and I fully realize its shortcomings, is that I am interested in painting, but not in music. The reader must decide for himself whether it is more reprehensible in me to include only half of the logical extension of my inquiry, or to omit it altogether.

There is, however, a slight argument in my favour. Musical societies, perhaps because of their social nature, have received considerable attention by other writers,¹ but as far as I am aware,

1. David Fraser Harris: Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd: A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh; Gray: The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall, (an article in the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 19, pp. 183-245.); Maitland: History of Edinburgh, page 167 f.; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 1, page 82 f.; Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 251 f.; Arnot: History of Edinburgh, page 379 f.; Fergusson: Henry Erskine, page 116 f.; Cockburn: Memorials of His Time, page 26 f.; The Edinburgh Harmonist's

a systematic treatment of Scottish Academies of Art has never before been attempted. And the lack of a comprehensive survey of these organizations has been, in general, unfortunate; it has left many interesting and curious facts concealed, and it has resulted in a number of false impressions regarding the paucity of artistic endeavours in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century.¹ There is, for example, a very wide belief that the Academy of Fine Arts which was established in the College of Glasgow in 1753 by the well-known printers Andrew and Robert Foulis was the first of its kind in Scotland. But the Foulis Academy was neither the first of such Academies nor even the first to have rooms in a Scottish University - nor the most interesting. But this is not all, the function and the purpose of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts, though the institution is as well known as the brothers who founded it, have been almost universally misunderstood.

Society, Rules and List of Members, with an Introductory Sketch of the Early History of the Society; The Edinburgh Harmonists Society, by J. P. McDonugh (a typescript in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.); A List of the Members of the Musical Society at Edinburgh: 1793; A List of the Members of the Musical Society at Edinburgh; May 1, 1775; A Musical Entertainment, Performed by A Society of Gentlemen in Edinburgh, Upon the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of James Thomson, Author of the Seasons, etc.: 1770; Funeral Concert, Performed by the Gentlemen of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, 22 of November 1771, on the Death of Sir Robert Murray, Bart., one of the Directors and William Douglas Treasurer to the Society.

1. "In a rapid sketch of the achievements in literature and art throughout Scotland during the period embraced by this history, art obtains the precedence, on account of the distinct and narrow limits which it at once presents to the eye. National art was in a miserable condition. There were artists who were Scotsmen, and works of art were brought into Scotland; but, taken in the stricter sense of works produced by Scotsmen for a Scots public, National Art is nearly a blank from the Revolution to the Middle of the eighteenth century." (Burton: History of Scotland, Vol. 8, page 536.)

The first Academy of Art to be established in Scotland in the eighteenth century was the Academy of St. Luke which was organized by the poet Allan Ramsay, his son the painter, and a number of other gentlemen in Edinburgh on 18th October, 1729.¹ The details of this organization are given in an indenture which was signed by all the founding parties.² This indenture reads as follows:-

At Edinburgh the eighteenth day of October A. Dom. MDCCXXIX.

We Subscribers PAINTERS and Lovers of Painting, Fellows of the Edinburgh School of St. Luke for the encouragement of those excelent arts of PAINTING, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE, etc. and IMPROVEMENT of the Students: Have agreed to erect a publick Academy, whereinto every One that inclines on application to our Director and Council, shall be admitted on paying a smal sum for defraying Charges of Figure and Lights, etc. For further encouragment Some of our Members who have a fine collection of Models in Plaister from the best Antique Statues are to lend the use of them to the Academy.

To prevent all disorder the present Members have Unanimously agreed on the observation of the following Rules.

- I. To meet anually on the eighteenth day of October, being the feast of St. Luke our Patron, to chuse a Director, Treasurer and Secretary and four common Councillours for the ensuing Year, of which Council of Seven ther shall ever be four Mr. Painters. This sd Council to be chosen yearly, and may or not be rechosen, but upon no account to continue above two Years at a Time.
- II. That the Sederunts of the Society be Registrated in a book to be kept by the Secretary for the Time being.
- III. The Academy to meet on the first of November (one thousand seven hundred) and twenty-nine years, and to continue till the last of February, four times a week, viz. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, at five o'clock at night, and to draw the space of two hours. To meet again on the first of June, and continue till the last of July, on the for said days of the week; but the two Drawing hours to be

1. Edinburgh Annual Register, 1816, Vol. IX, page cccclxxiii

2. Ibid. *15, dallas 1755 2. 1st in Scotland (1729)* ✓

in the morning from six to eight. The Summer Season being chiefly design'd for Drawing from Antique Models, and Drawghts of the best Masters of Foreign Schools by a Sky Light; for which Purpose, a large Portofolio to be kept in the Academy for preserving all curious Drawings allready given, or that may be given for that end.

- IV. On Placing of every new figure, those present to draw Lots for the choise of their Seats.
- V. That every Member according to His Seniority shall be allowed in His turn to place or put the figure in what ever Posture He pleases, or have it in His power to depute another to do it for Him, and to have the first choise of His Seat.
- VI. All Noblemen, Gentlemen, Patrons, Painters, and lovers of Painting, who shall contribute to carrying on the Designe, (if they do not incline to draw themselves) shall have the Privilege by a written Order to our Directors, to assign His Right to any Young Artist whom He is Pleased to Patronize.

(signatures)

Linton.	Garlies.	William Robertson.	Geo. Marshall,
	William Adam.	Hugh Clerk, jun.	Preses.
	Gilb. Elliot.		Richd. Cooper,
	Andrew Hay.		Treasurer.
	J. McEuen.		Roderick Chalmers,
	Ja. Balfour.		Secretary.
	Mark Sandilands.		John Alexander.
	Allan Ramsay		And. McIlvraith.
			Ja. Norie.
			Alexr. Guthrie.
			Th. Trotter.
			John Patoun.
			Jas. Norie, Junior.
			Allan Ramsay, Junior.
			Dav. Eizat.
			James Clerk.
			Alexr. Clerk.
			Wm. Denune.
			W. Trotter.
			David Cleland.
			Robert Yelton.

The first instance of an Academy of Art being granted the privilege of using rooms within the walls of a Scottish University occurred

*Proposed in
Royal Scottish
Academy.*

in Edinburgh on 6th January, 1731. The Edinburgh Town-Council Records¹ for this date contain the following minute:-

The which day the Council upon application of the praeses and other members of the Academy for Drawing the Council with the Extra Deacons do for their encouragement give to them the use and possession of one of the Rooms in the college commonly called Mortounhall Chamber rent free during the Councils pleasure.

Unfortunately it is not revealed in the minute just quoted whether the Academy of Drawing was Ramsay's Academy of St. Luke. The reader will note, however, that the establishment of that organization, and the granting of University chambers to an "Academy of Drawing" was separated by the space of only sixteen months. The circumstance of the application having come from the praeses of an Academy of Drawing coincides with the organization of the Academy of St. Luke. The chain of circumstance may be flimsy, but I feel that it is at least possible that the Academy of St. Luke was the "Academy of Drawing" which was granted the use of "Mortounhall Chamber".

The next substantial effort to forward the arts was that pursued by Robert Foulis, his brother Andrew, and several Glasgow merchants whose combined activities led to the establishment of the Glasgow Academy of Fine Arts in the College of Glasgow in 1753. This Academy, which was active for over twenty years, was the first large-scale attempt of its kind in Great Britain, and it is certainly much to the credit of the citizens of Glasgow, the merchants of that city, the directors of the College, and to the determined efforts of Robert Foulis, that the Academy was established and continued so successfully.

1. Edinburgh Town-Council Records, Vol. LIII, page 270. See also Dalziel: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, Appendix, page 401.

As a reflection of the "improving Spirit" applied to the fine arts, the Glasgow effort is worthy of our attention, and if the Academy was successful in no other way, we must certainly regard it favourably as an example to be followed by the rest of Great Britain.¹

As I have already mentioned in my introductory remarks to this chapter, there has been, in the past, a widespread misconception of the origin and the success of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts. The opinion of Robert Foulis's contemporaries, that his project was extremely whimsical, has persisted down to the present day.² There has also been an almost universal lament that he should have forsaken his printing and publishing business, in which he had produced so many creditable works,³ and abandoned a lucrative trade in books for

1. "The Glasgow Academy had been, during fifteen years, established previously to the formation of that in Somerset-house London (i.e. The Royal Academy)." (Chapman: The Picture of Glasgow, page 260.) The Trustee's Academy of Edinburgh did not begin activities until 1760. See my account of this institution on page 435 f., below.
2. "It was a splendid gesture in the face of indifference, but it ruined the Foulis brothers and produced no very notable results." (Finlay: Art in Scotland, page 85). "The whole scheme seems generally to have been considered romantic, and we have Foulis's own testimony that 'there seemed to be a pretty general eumlation who should run it most down.'" (Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 31.) "Glasgow had even the privilege of enjoying the advantages afforded by an Academy of Art from the establishment of that institution in 1755 until its long-threatened collapse in 1776. Yet the arts cannot be said to have flourished in Glasgow during this period." (Craig: Scottish Periodical Press, page 38.) "It was not only the plebeians of commercial Glasgow who shook their heads over the venture, for members of high society were ready to do likewise." (Coutt: History of the University of Glasgow, page 260.) Mackay: Scottish Painting, p. 17.
3. "The Edinburgh Society for encouraging arts, sciences, manufactures and agriculture in Scotland awarded their silver medal to messr. Foulis in 1755 for their Callimachus, and in 1756 two

*The Macdonalds, The Life of our Immortal Foulis
(Edinburgh 1931) Chap 13 The
Academy etc.*

the impecunious one of training artists and dealing in pictures and other artistic merchandise.¹ These two notions have led to a general

silver medals for their *Horace* of 1756, and their folio *Iliad*, others in 1757 and 1758 for their *Odyssey* and the Minor works of Homer." (David Murray: *R. and A. Foulis; their Glasgow Press and Academy of Fine Arts*, page 29.) "During all this period the only successful rivals of the Foulises were Hamilton, Balfour, and Neill, of Edinburgh, who in 1758, gained a prize for their edition of Terence, got up under the care of the late Mr. Alexander Smellie, at that time the corrector of their press." (Maitland Club: *Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow*, page 31.) See also Chapter 4, page 114, note #2, and page 147 above.

1. "Some years ago the Printing-office at Glasgow was a formidable rival to that at Edinburgh; and had the two celebrated Printers there pursued their business, they might have carried away the whole trade of Scotland to themselves. But, alas! 'Men are but men,' as Tristram Shandy observes, 'and the best have their weaknesses.' An unfortunate desire seized these two gentlemen of instituting an academy of painting, and of buying a collection of pictures; forgetting that the place where this academy was to be instituted was amongst a society of trades men, who would throw away no money on such subjects. With this idea they bought paintings which nobody else will buy again, and which now lie upon their hands in high preservation. During the rage of this fancy, they forgot their former business, and neglected an art which, from their editions of Homer and Milton, might have made them immortal, to run after paltry copies of good paintings, which they had been informed were originals. When I visited these gentlemen I had heard of their Printing, but never of their Academy. It was in vain that I asked for books; I had always a picture thrust into my hand; and like Boniface, though they had nothing in print worth notice, they said they could shew me a delicate engraving. You may well imagine that this ambition has prevented their former success: for though Poetry and Painting may be sister arts, I never heard that Painting and Printing were of the same family; if they are, their interests have been very opposite." (Topham: *Letters from Edinburgh*, page 180 f.) For complaints in the same vein see David Murray, *R. and A. Foulis, Etc.*, "Advice of Friends", page 73 f.; Maitland Club: *Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow*, page 19 f.; Coutts: *History of the University of Glasgow*, page 261. (There is considerable repetition in the latter three works. Typical advice came from Charles Townshend "who took a kindly, if not strong, interest in the Foulises," and the Earl of Northumberland, both of whom advised the brothers to "print and prosper.")

tendency to depreciate all the activities of the Academy, and, in effect, in the minds of many the failure of that institution was a foregone conclusion. In my opinion, however, neither of these assumptions is warranted by the facts. The Foulis brothers never abandoned their printing business, and, in fact, the Academy was of material assistance to their activities in that direction in the matter of providing illustrations.¹ Nor did they neglect the profits of one business for the pleasures of starving in another. If there was any whimsicality mixed with the scheme for the Academy, it was certainly in the other direction. It appears obvious to me that the two brothers anticipated a source of profits from their artistic endeavours which they had failed to realize in the printing of Greek and Latin classics. And if the word whimsical applies to anyone, it must certainly be far more suitable to those who have so unconcernedly written off twenty years of successful propagation of the arts in Scotland as a "failure." What I shall attempt to demonstrate in my short account of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts, therefore, is that it was a hard-headed business proposition which, like so many of its kind in other fields of manufactures and commerce, failed to produce the anticipated dividends.

In order to approach the plans for the establishment of an Academy of Arts as Robert Foulis approached them, it is necessary to shed the preconceived idea that his successful printing business was necessarily a lucrative one. Although he has failed to connect the scheme for the

1. "Robert Foulis, in the Memorial of the Printers and Booksellers of Glasgow, of 25th April, 1774, tells how useful he found the Academy in preparing diagrams for mathematical books; and at the same time enlarges on the work and results of the Academy." (David Murray: R. and A. Foulis, their Glasgow Press, etc., page 81.)

Academy with the lack of profits to be found in printing Plato and Homer, David Murray, in his Robert and Andrew Foulis: Their Glasgow Press and Academy of Fine Arts, has faithfully recorded the fact that "money had to be borrowed for the printing and publishing business,¹ and it is doubtful whether it did more than pay its way." Although² the Foulis correspondence has been lost, and the extracts which were taken from it by that bungling amateur antiquarian Lord Buchan are generally unsatisfactory, it is possible to catch some reflection of Robert Foulis's ideas of the utility of such an establishment, and of the possibilities of making of it a profitable business. It will be noted, in the extract which follows, that Foulis gives predominantly³ economic reasons for the desirability of an Academy of Arts:-

In the years 1738 & 1739, having gone abroad, and resided for several months at each time at Paris, we had frequent opportunities of conversing with gentlemen of every liberal profession, and to observe the connection and mutual influence of the Arts & Sciences upon one another & upon Society. We had opportunities of observing the influence of invention in Drawing & Modelling on many manufactures. And 'tis obvious that whatever nation has the lead in fashion must previously have invention in drawing diffused, otherwise they can never rise above copying their neighbours.... In the year 1751, I went abroad for the 4th time in company with a younger brother, and spent near two years; the first months were spent in Holland in exchanging books of our own Printing whether Greek, Latin or English, and in enquiring after assistances for adorning an edition of Plato. Before this journey was undertaken, the scheme of an Academy had been pretty well digested, and often the subject of debate in private conversation....

1. David Murray: R. & A. Foulis: Their Glasgow Press, etc., page 90.
2. (re. Lord Buchan) "His lordship had little insight, and was unable to discern what it was in Foulis that he respected and appreciated... (but) it is to Lord Buchan's industry and to his collections for his projected work, that we are indebted for the greater part of what we know of Robert Foulis." (ibid, page 107.)
3. Waitland Club: Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary

The reasons for Robert Foulis's optimistic anticipations of success are not difficult to imagine. At the time when the Academy was being seriously considered there was a fad for collecting works of art.

"Works of the old masters were in great demand at this time, and were eagerly sought after, particularly if they could be traced to some great collection."¹ The following analysis of his resolute determination to proceed despite the discouragements offered by many of his fellow citizens sets forth his position quite clearly:-²

The field which Scotland then afforded for such an undertaking was extremely limited, and the country was at that time only recovering from the effects of the recent rebellion. But Foulis probably felt confident that were such an institution once established, its ultimate success might be considered as almost certain, -- and that those who should acquire a taste for the arts might "inspire the same love and relish for the beautiful in those that are near them, and they in others." The very fact that there was then no other Academy for the Arts in Scotland seems to have operated powerfully in inducing him to commence the undertaking. The field was entirely unoccupied, and those who were willing to encourage the rising institutions of their country could not plead the number or variety of those which required their patronage as an excuse for withholding their assistance from it. He had, besides, hopes of meeting even with royal patronage, -- hopes which were soon blasted by the untimely death of the Prince of Wales.

Of two alternative plans proposed for the support of the Academy, Robert Foulis chose the one which leaves little doubt as to his financial expectations.³ The two plans were as follows:-

Two plans seem to have been proposed for the support of the Academy. The first was, to submit the scheme to some person of high rank; but this idea was, after mature consideration, abandoned. The second, to use Foulis's own words, was to

History of Glasgow, page 17 f. See also Coutts: History of the University of Glasgow, page 260; and David Murray: R. and A. Foulis: their Glasgow Press, etc., page 57 f.

1. David Murray: R. & A. Foulis, etc., page 59.
2. Mail and Club: Notices and Documents... of Glasgow, page 82 f.
3. Ibid, page 83. See also Coutts: History of the Univ of Glasgow, p. 260.

communicate it to some merchants of spirit, and represent it to them as a finer kind of manufacture, that would take a longer time to come to a bearing and produce profit, but that in the end would make full amends for the delay, by affording more ample profits, because the manufactures were not produced from dear materials, and the productions were considered not so much according to the quantity of labour they contained, as according to the degree of genius and art well conducted...

The latter plan was the one that was adopted, and, in a letter written to Robert Roulis by Sir John Dalrymple, we catch sight of some of the commercial aspects of the Academy's operations. Such phrases as "undersell the London mercate here," and "be able to supply the mercate at Edinburgh while the iron is yet hott," are significant of the business-like approach to the arts which was in no way in
1
opposition to Robert Roulis's own ideals:-

Your lads ought to copy the Pictures that they see exactly, in the dimensions that they see them, instead of trusting to themselves to make a little thing of a large one, or a large thing of a little one. The Holy family of Widows Scholar is beloved, and Ochran's Saint admired, but the things that will take most, by which I mean that will sell best, are Landscapes. The most ignorant can judge of the impropriety of a human figure or a human passion, but it must be only one accustomed to look at the beautys of Nature, who can judge of a false step in a Landscape. A Landscape, too, hits the present taste of ornamenting a room, by which I mean, making it more ugly than it naturally is; for which reason I beg that you would employ your boys in doing the best of your Landscapes because I can make you certain that these are the things that will sell best....

The Paris-Plaister work seems to me a solid scheme, if you contrive your prices so as to undersell the London mercate here, and yet to make money to yourself...

It is of consequence to you to be able to supply the mercate at Edinburgh while the iron is yet hott; for that reason I beg you will send in one copy of every good Bust that you have to be Shown in Fleming and Fair's Shop, and besides that, with all the expedition you can that you will likewise send in two more copies of each to be kept in Boxes in some Wareroom till people make their choice of the different Busts,

1. Maitland Club: Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow, page 23 f.; and David Murray: R. & A. Roulis, their Glasgow Press, etc., page 74.

for it is in these chiefly that I expect sale. I once thought it would have been best for you to have allowed Commissions to be sent to you to Glasgow, but I see now that will not do, as people are impatient to have their things directly, and will take if delivered immediately what (they) will not take if delivered eight days after this. Likewise send a few more copies of your Pictures to be sold as any body offers: Send Catalogues too of the Masters, the Boy's name, the price, and likewise of the name of the Bust and the price. None of these things are done hitherto.... I am, Sir, Your etc.,

Edinr. 1 Dec. 1757.

John Dalrymple.

Now that I have gone so far in one direction, I hasten to assure the reader that I do not imagine for one moment that the profit motive was the only reason that Robert Foulis persisted in his endeavours to promote the fine arts in Scotland. That he was genuinely interested in the arts, and in their cultivation, we know from the papers which he read before the Literary Society of Glasgow.¹ And from his own statement that "private profit is what I have too much undervalued in my other undertakings to regard it in the present circumstances," we know that he persisted in his efforts far longer than he would have done had he been solely interested in the profits of the venture.²

1. "Essays read before the Society by Robert Foulis:-

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Novr. 9, 1764. | Memoir on the Discovery and Culture of Genius. |
| Novr. 14, 1766. | Observations on the Knowledge or Science necessary to a Commercial Town or State. |
| Decr. 4, 1767. | From what reasons founded in Nature do the Imitative Arts of Music, Painting, and Poetry proceed. |
| Novr. 10, 1769. | On the establishments wanting in this University which are necessary to render education more complete. |
| May 4, 1770. | Whether Learning, Arts, Sciences and manners in Europe are upon the whole on the Advance or Decline. |

(Waitland Club: Notices and Documents etc., page 134-135.) For an account of the Literary Society of Glasgow, see Chapter 4, page 118, and following, above.

2. David Murray: R. & A. Foulis: Their Glasgow Press, etc., page 90.

but the fact remains that he believed in the financial practicality of his venture, that he expected to profit from it, and when the affair ended in a disastrous final auction of his collection of paintings,¹ after his brother's death and the dissolution of the Academy, it quite literally broke his heart, and he died a few months² later.

At every step in the formation and management of the Academy, therefore, we may find indications that Robert Roulis was not an impractical visionary. His original scheme for establishing the institution, besides furnishing us with the essential facts, shows that the proposed Academy was to have many of the features which proved³ to be successful in later attempts of a similar nature:-

It is proposed, That a house be taken, with a sufficient number of rooms; two, contiguous to each other, for drawing and modelling from the life; one for architecture and perspective; one for drawing from plaister; one for receiving the works of the school; one for the exhibition of them, and others for a housekeeper, and servants.

That some fine pictures, casts, bustoes, bas relievos, intaglio's, antiquity, history, architecture, drawings, and prints, be purchased.

That there be professors of anatomy, geometry, perspective, architecture, and such other sciences as are necessary to a painter, sculptor, or architect.

1. "After meeting charges, the net sum remaining to the unfortunate owner was, it is said, fifteen shillings." (David Murray: R. & A. Roulis: their Glasgow Press, etc., page 99.)
2. "It is needless to refer to the grief and disappointment of the worthy man. He had sacrificed what he prized most highly and loved most dearly. A callous and ignorant crowd had, in his view, taken his treasure without acknowledging its merits or its worth. He had parted with it and was a beggar... He journeyed slowly back to Scotland a broken man. He reached Edinburgh, and, while in the act of preparing for his journey to Glasgow, suddenly expired on the 2nd June, 1776." (Ibid, page 100.)
3. Scots Magazine, March 1755, page 131 f., "Reprinted from the Gentleman's Magazine."

That the professors do read lectures at stated times on the constituent parts of their several arts; the reasons on which they are founded, and the precision and immutability of the objects of true taste, with proper cautions against all caprice and affectation.

That living models be provided of different characters, to stand five nights in the week.

That every professor do present the academy with a piece of his performance at admission.

That no scholar draw from the life, till he has gone through the previous classes, and given proof of his capacity.

That a certain number of medals be annually given to such students as shall distinguish themselves most.

That every student, after he has practised a certain time, and given some proofs of his ability, may be a candidate for a fellowship.

That such of the fellows as chuse to travel to Rome to complete their studies, do make a composition from some given subject, as a proof of their abilities, and he who shall obtain the preference, shall be sent, with a salary sufficient to maintain him decently a certain time; during which he is to be employed in copying pictures, antique statues, or bas relieves, drawing from ancient fragments or such new structures as may advance his art; such pieces to be the property of the society.

That other medals of greater value, or some badges of distinction, be given publicly to those who shall manifest uncommon excellence.

That some professors should be well skilled in ornaments, fruit, flowers, birds, beasts, etc., that they may instruct the students in these subjects, which are of great use in our manufactures,

That drawing-masters for such schools as may be wanted in several parts of the kingdom be appointed by the professors, under the seal of the academy.

That a housekeeper shall continually reside at the academy, to keep every thing in order, and not suffer any piece to go out of the house without a proper warrant.

As is well known, the proposal that "a house be taken" was obviated by the fact that the College of Glasgow extended its support to the Academy by permitting Foulis to use two rooms in the College buildings.

In 1759, the Scots Magazine published "A Proposal for encouraging, by subscription, an academy for Painting and Sculpture, now instituted at Glasgow," which gives a more detailed description of the Academy as it was finally established. The "Proposal" reads as follows:-

As the following proposal doth not proceed from the person who is interested in it, the public will not be surprised to find him treated with marks of personal esteem, as well as a zeal discovered for the object which he has pursued with uncommon spirit.

Mr. Robert Foulis of Glasgow, printer to the university, conceived a design, some years ago, of erecting a school for Sculpture and Painting: and he flattered himself, that such an institution, hitherto wanting in every part of this kingdom, might favour the early propensities of such as are endowed with talents for those arts, and bring to view some examples of a happy genius, which are frequently concealed under the pressure of indigence and obscurity. The talents indeed which qualify men for attaining great eminence in those arts, are very uncommon; and we must, on this account, the more regret their being frustrated by a want of those occasions which discover them, and excite their application. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this point, and we have indulged ourselves so far only, because we are convinced, that this consideration furnished the principal motives for the institution of that academy which we have now in view; and we shall only add, that it is likewise uncommon, to find a person who is willing to engage himself in a design so remote from the ordinary views of interest. Such an institution required not only the inspection of proper masters, but seemed to lay the founder under a necessity of procuring from abroad such a collection of pictures as might communicate the first ideas to his scholars, and excite their emulation. Neither the expence of this collection which is very considerable, nor the disappointments he has met with in the choice of masters, have discouraged him from continuing to educate boys who have a proper disposition to those arts; and he has been happy in the choice of several, who have already made considerable progress.

His boys are occupied in the different branches for which they appear most qualified, either Painting, Modeling, or Engraving; and he has lately employed some hands in moulding busts and figures from casts of the best statues.

1. Scots Magazine, January 1759, page 47.

The productions of this academy are already very considerable, and deserve to meet with such reception, as would enable the undertaker to prosecute his plan with less detriment to his private interest. but in this he hath to struggle with what is too frequent among mankind, a prepossession against every new attempt, and against every production of their own country, compared with what is brought with more expence from a distance. He has to cope with the expectations of an age already, in some measure, familiar with the perfection of this art in the productions of foreign masters; and who are apt to reject, with disgust, the first essays of an infant academy. The following proposal is intended, if possible, to obviate these difficulties, and to procure some encouragement to those arts in our own country, which have been carried so far by, and done so much honour to foreign nations.

PROPOSAL --

The productions of Mr. Foulis's academy being exposed to view at Edinburgh, in the shop of Mr. Robert Fleming, and at Glasgow, in the gallery appointed for them in the college; IT IS PROPOSED, that such gentlemen as are willing to promote this design, shall advance certain sums annually, for any number of years they think proper; during which time they are to chuse among the Prints, Paintings, Models, or Casts, which are the production of this academy such lots as may amount to the value of the sums respectively paid by them, signed either by Mr. Foulis at Glasgow or Mr. Fleming, his trustee, at Edinburgh. Gentlemen may withdraw their subscriptions when they please.

The policy of Robert Foulis in relation to his pupils was somewhat unusual. "I receive no gratification," he explained, "from the young men bred to be Artists in the Academy, but I give them wages from the beginning, so that they are taught on easier conditions than they would learn the ordinary mechanic trades. They also receive little rewards or prizes occasionally to stir them up to outdo themselves or their companions. These are proportioned to their condition and my ability." The fact that his students were supported by Foulis suggests to me that the Academy was intended to be supported, in turn, by the sale of their work. This method of operation made, in effect, a factory of art out of the Academy, but this was perfectly in keeping

1. David Murray: R. & A. Foulis: their Glasgow Press, etc., page 71-72.

with the plan originally advanced by Robert Foulis, and was, in fact, exactly what he had intended.

From 1759 to 1775 the Academy continued to use the rooms provided by the College. During this period, it appears to have been regarded as an ornament to the city, and as a show-place. In the Autumn of 1771, James Boswell visited it in company with Paoli and the Polish Ambassador, Count Burzynski. The following account of the visit of these three "notables" was obligingly supplied by Boswell to the publisher of the Scots Magazine:¹

An authentic account of General Paoli's tour to Scotland, Autumn 1771.

... On Friday, Sept. 6, they walked about and viewed the beautiful and flourishing city of Glasgow without being known. But by the time they got to the university, the report went that General Paoli was in town; and then every body was in motion, crowding to see him. Their Excellencies viewed the elegant printing and academy of painting, sculpture, etc., of the Scottish Stephani, the Mess. Foulis, who were transported with enthusiasm to see such visitors. The university was not sitting; but there luckily happened to be there the Professors Moor, Muirhead, Anderson, Trail, Wilson, Reid, and Stevenson, who shewed the university to great advantage, and entertained their Excellencies, and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, with wine and sweet-meats in the library....

Despite its reputation, however, the Academy did not become as profitable as Robert Foulis had anticipated, and its financial difficulties were persistent and seemed rather to increase than to diminish. In September 1775, the active supporters of the institution,² and particularly Robert Foulis, were brought to the realization that they could no longer continue when Andrew Foulis, who had become a partner to his brother on 21st February 1758, died suddenly.² The Academy was closed,

1. Scots Magazine, September 1771, page 481.

2. Robert Foulis was assisted in his endeavour by three Glasgow

and the picture collection was sent to London for auction. In preparation for the coming sacrifice of his beloved pictures, Robert Foulis lovingly prepared an extensive and elaborate catalogue.¹ The catalogue consists of three volumes, and the preface to the first volume contains the best account of the Academy which I have seen, though it is very seldom quoted by those who sit in judgment on the Academy. Robert Foulis's account of his own endeavours reads as follows:-

The pictures mentioned in the following Catalogue having been visited by many persons, both British and foreigners, the occasion of collecting them is perhaps sufficiently known.

Many who have seen them, and who expected nothing in Glasgow of the kind, were not a little surprised on finding so many pictures of the first order of every school; and were still more surprised on seeing a number of young men applying themselves to the different branches of the Fine Arts; to drawing, modelling, moulding, painting, and engraving.

Those who have seen them at different periods, know the feebleness of their beginnings, and the progress that has been made in every branch; namely, in portraits, in history-painting, in engraving, and in the application of drawing to many useful arts, both civil and military.

merchants. (See his original proposal on page 421, above)
"The 'two merchants of spirit in Glasgow,' who provided funds for the enterprise, were John Glassford of Dougalston (1715-83), a Virginia Don, and Archibald Ingram (1704-70), his brother-in-law, calico-printer and banker, Provost 1762-64, both of whom had been associated in the printing of Ambrose's Works in 1737. John Campbell of Clathic, a prominent merchant, Provost 1784-86, and a well-known figure in Glasgow society, now joined with them in assisting Foulis (i.e. in 1752) (David Murray: R. & A. Foulis, page 63.) For the part played by Andrew Foulis in the Academy, see Ibid, page 78.

1. A Catalogue of Pictures, Composed and Painted chiefly by the Most Admired Masters of the Roman, Florentine, Parman, Bolognese, Venetian, Flemish, and French Schools. In which many of the most capital are illustrated by Descriptions, and critical Remarks.... by Robert Foulis. 3 Vols. London: Sold at the place of Exhibition, and by T. Cadell, 1776.

But all that can be done by any attempt of private persons is temporary. Human life is too short for bringing to perfection those arts, which require permanent establishments to prevent their decline. This is the case with history-painters; to whose studies no limit can be set; but whose encouragement is of all others the most precarious.

When this enterprise was begun, there was little prospect that any thing of the kind would so soon be undertaken in any part of the Island. The hope of finding royal patronage were frustrated by the death of the Prince of Wales; who had it much at heart to establish a royal Academy, well furnished with the most capital pictures, and every other means of advancing the Arts: for he knew their intrinsic value, and that they are essential in bringing all ornamental manufactures to perfection,

His present Majesty was then of an age too early for the public to form any judgment concerning his inclinations to encourage and protect the Arts. It is now to be hoped, that Parliament will concur with him in his intentions of this kind, so frequently and so graciously displayed; and when they find leisure from business that admits of no delay, will give that countenance to artists, which is consistent with the improvements of a manufacturing country. The establishment of a magnificent Museum, for the advancement of true knowledge, encourages this pleasing hope.

As the Sciences and Philosophy are the foundation of every useful and ornamental art, it were to be wished, that every professor of any branch of the Fine Arts had a competent knowledge of them; and were able to read, in their original languages, those authors who are the models of elegance and taste; and whose writings form the soul to a relish for what is beautiful and good in all things.

A few establishments for giving a liberal education to such as had given proofs of genius for the Arts, would in time have been productive of good effects. Even those who failed in the expectations they might have excited would still, by help of a liberal education, have found use for their talents in other honourable employments.

Attention to the culture of virtuous dispositions is more general in the middle ranks of life than in the extremes; and this culture, perfected by a liberal education, would form artists judge of, and attached to all the decorums of life. The liberal arts would become more generally honourable by the manners of those who professed them.

It was proper, on many accounts, that this undertaking should be brought to a period. Two persons of five who were originally concerned in it, are already gone, and only one remaining who

could take the trouble of superintending a concern so full of cares. He also too far advanced in life to flatter himself with hopes of doing much more service by prolonging; and being acquainted with the particulars of the collection, it was judged proper by all his friends, that he should charge himself with the disposal of the whole.

Nor would perseverance be of the same importance as before; the Arts being now under the special protection of his Majesty, and the care of a Royal Academy in the capital of the British Empire.

Yet as learning and virtue are so necessary to artists, and a taste for the elegant arts so necessary to complete a liberal education, it is to be wished, that all Universities were also Academies; in order that artists should never be without learning, nor learned men without a taste for those arts, that in all enlightened ages, have been deemed liberal and polite.

Some ages before the restoration of antient knowledge, learning became barbarous; and was for the most part confined to monasteries and to cells. But since the revival of genius, learned men have mingled more with Society, artists have become more learned, their tastes more refined, and their ingenious labours, by promoting the conveniences and ornaments of life, have become more externally useful.

The undertaking that has been carried on in this city, cannot perhaps be entirely justified upon the principles of the selfish system, if the pleasure that arises from endeavouring to do good be counted for nothing; and if the consciousness of acting with benevolent meaning does not follow us to the other world.

What has been already done, makes it fully evident, that the more the arts are cultivated, they will become the more perfect, and the more diffused.

David Allen, who laid the foundation of his education here, is, perhaps, the first Briton who contended for the prize of history-painting at Rome. This contention was not with young men like himself; but with painters more advanced in life. He gained the first prize; and distinguished himself no less by his Prova, done in public, than by this finished picture.

The pastes, by Mr. Tassie, in imitation of precious stones, are now generally known, as well as his casts in sulphur. Nor does he confine himself to mechanical parts, but imitates original nature with success. Yet this artist began by drawing, modelling, and moulding at Glasgow.

The art of engraving has been so little diffused in Scotland, that Mr. Strange was the first that distinguished himself; and

he undoubtedly gave specimens, before he went abroad, that promised that reputation he has since acquired. There have been attempts here in the same art.

The essays in landscape that were done by Robert Paul, a little before his death, have that simplicity, which promises superior excellence. His view of the West Street, called the Trongate of Glasgow, is the most capital, as it is the last of his works; and was finished after his death by William Buchanan.

There are a considerable number of prints in Raphael's Bible, done by the late William Buchanan, that shew his ability as a drawer and engraver. His Paul preaching at Athens, and the other Cartoons he engraved; and last of all Raphael's Transfiguration, which he had near finished when he died; done from the picture reversed in a mirror, are convincing proofs of his merit.

Nor can I neglect, on this occasion, to do justice to James Mitchell; who, although the nearness of his sight disqualified him for a common profession; yet, in a few weeks made a surprising progress: and his engravings, after he attained experience, have been favourably received by the public. Several of his performances in Raphael's Bible, are much superior, both in conception and execution to Chaperon. His print of Daniel in the Den of Lions, after Ruben's picture in his Grace the Duke of Hamilton's collection, has been well received. He engraved also four of the Cartoon, Mount Parnassus, and the School of Athens, and has laboured with success both after Raphael and Correggio.

The essays in original history-painting that have been finished are not numerous; but there are some which were done at home by Messieurs Cochrane and M'Lauchlane, that do them honour: although their manners are so different, that their works cannot be compared with propriety.

There are some drawings and pictures by David Allen, before he went abroad, that are done with invention and spirit; and are surprising, especially at so early a period.

But I shall conclude this subject, least, by prolonging it, I become tedious. Nor shall I presume, at present, to mention the names of the illustrious persons, whose protection has done honour to this attempt; least it should seem to proceed more from vanity than from gratitude.

As I have already said, the auction of his pictures, which Robert Coulis had so laboriously collected, was a disastrous failure. There is every indication that until the very end he had expected that their sale would allow him to discharge his financial obligations. When it

became known that the public regarded, for the moment, his collection as worthless, Robert Foulis must certainly have felt that all his years of struggle had been worthless.¹

It is most reprehensible and unnatural that the efforts of this public-spirited man should ever have been repudiated. And yet it is as it was in the beginning; when the matter of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts is considered, "there (seems) to be a pretty general emulation who should run it most down." A more flagrant example of civic ingratitude, for example, could hardly be found than that of the Maitland Club's account of the Academy, which contains the stinging words, "The Academy has always, and deservedly, been considered a failure."² Such a statement, despite all the qualifications which may be placed upon it, is an affront not only to the memory of a worthy man, but is not even in keeping with the facts. Among Glaswegians, it was left to David Murray, a Glasgow lawyer and antiquarian of a later period, to express a deep appreciation and generous admiration in his final survey of the efforts of Robert Foulis to promote the arts in Scotland. Murray writes:-³

1. "Professor Richardson stated, on an authority on which he felt disposed to rely, that a picture, sold for twenty-five pounds, afterwards brought five hundred." (David Murray: R. & A. Foulis: Their Glasgow Press, and Academy of Fine Arts, page 128.)
2. Maitland Club: Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow, page 90.
3. David Murray: R. & A. Foulis: Their Glasgow Press, and Academy of Fine Arts, page 130. For other favourable accounts, see Coutts: History of the University of Glasgow, page 260; (Chapman): Picture of Glasgow, page 260; Mackintosh: History of Civilization in Scotland, Vol. 4, page 465; Caw: Scottish Painting, page 34; and British Medical Association 90th Meeting, page 195.

The Academy was an unfortunate venture from a commercial point of view, but it was a grand conception. It was planned on a great scale, and excellently organised, and was carried on for more than twenty years with amazing energy under enormous difficulties. Such a scheme nowadays would be possible only with the aid of a handsome endowment, or of a state or a municipal subvention; but Robert Foulis undertook it practically single-handed, and achieved what must be considered a marked success. The formation of his gallery of paintings was a big undertaking, and their presence in Glasgow must have been a great educative influence. "Within the college," says the editor of Camden's Britannia, "is the printing-house of the two brothers Robert and Andrew Foulis, to whom the learned world owes many elegant and convenient editions of the Greek and Roman classics, and their native city has no small obligation for the Academy by them established for the arts of design and sculpture, though not attended with all the success they expected." Misfortune overtook the Academy, but not from any defect in plan or fault of management, but simply because the funds for carrying it on were inadequate, and the public did not give it the support that was expected....

As a part of the history of the fine arts in Glasgow, it is interesting to record that toward the end of the century notices of two Academies of Drawing appeared in the Glasgow Courier. These academies were, of course, due to the enterprise of private individuals, and both reflect, even more so than the Foulis Academy, the predominating commercial interest in the arts of the period. The first of these academies, that of Gallaway and Williams¹, must have opened in 1793. The tenor of its notice in the Courier suggests that the projectors had at least some interest in the fine arts:-

Gallaway and Williams return grateful thanks to the Public for the encouragement they have received since the opening of their Academy; and trust, that no exertions on their part shall be wanting to merit their farther patronage.

As a number of their friends have been solicitous about the opening of their Winter Evening Classes, they beg leave to

1. Glasgow Courier, Vol. III, #324, Tuesday, September 24, 1793.

acquaint the Public, that about the 1st of October, they mean to Open their Evening Classes, for the accommodation of those Gentlemen who cannot attend through the day.

Miniature Painting by Mr. Gallaway, and Views of any Particular Place, Taken from Nature by, Mr. Williams. Specimens to be seen at the Academy.

The second academy, that of Roeburn, Neilson, and Hastie, was more in the nature of a training school for craftsmen. The notice of this academy reads as follows:-

Roeburn, Neilson, and Hastie, most respectfully inform their Friends and the Public in general, that they have fitted up an Academy, at the head of the Laigh-Kirk Closs, Trongate, for teaching Drawing in Architecture, Cabinet Work, Land Surveying, Perspective, etc.

Likewise measure Masons, Wrights, Bricklayers, Plaisters, Painters Work, etc., etc.

Goods of every kind bought and sold upon commission, and also act as accountants.

R. N. and H. return their most grateful acknowledgments to their friends who have already honoured them with their employment since they commenced business, and they flatter themselves, by unremitted attention, to merit their favours in the different branches they profess.

N. B. Architectual Plans, and Draughts and Patterns for all kinds of Household Furniture, with their just proportions, done on the shortest notice, and upon the lowest terms.

During the time that the Foulis Academy of Art was active in Glasgow, a School of Design was established in Edinburgh by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland.² While there is no positive evidence that the Glasgow experiment was directly responsible for the decision to establish a similar institution in Edinburgh, it is

1. Glasgow Courier, Vol. III, #442, Thursday, June 26, 1794.

2. Caw: Scottish Painting, Past and Present, page 34; Notes on the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy, page 1; Wilson: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Antique Statues in the Trustees' Academy, page 1, introduction.

reasonable to assume that both Academies were a reflection of the widely held belief in the necessity of promulgating the arts in a manufacturing nation. As the reader will recall, Robert Foulis expressed this belief when he was explaining his motives for the establishment of the Glasgow Academy of Fine Arts.¹

The Edinburgh Trustee's Academy was an outcome of one of the provisions of the Treaty of Union of 1707. This historical background of the Academy has been very ably traced by Sir William Stirling Maxwell in an address to the Royal Scottish Academy:²

By the fifteenth article of the Treaty of Union, concluded between England and Scotland in 1705, amongst other provisions for giving some equivalent to Scotland for an increase of duties of Customs and Excise, it was agreed that 2000 pounds a year should for some years be applied towards encouraging and promoting the manufacture of coarse wool in those shires which produced wool, and afterwards wholly employed towards "encouraging and promoting the fisheries, and such other manufactures and improvements in Scotland as may most conduce to the general good of the United Kingdom." In 1718 this 2000 pounds was made payable for ever out of the Customs and Excise in Scotland. In 1725 an addition was made to this sum by an Act which provided, that when the produce of threepence per bushel to be paid on malt should exceed 20,000 pounds a year, such surplus should be added to it, and applied to the like purposes. The year following, the Crown was empowered to appoint twenty-one trustees, who were named in 1727 by letters-patent, which prescribed their duties and the plan of expending of the funds at their disposal in the encouragement of fisheries, and of the woollen, linen, and hempen manufactures. Under these trustees and their successors the business of the Board was carried on for about a century, until 1828, with little change of system....³

1. See page 419, above.

2. Harvey: Notes on the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy, page 162, Appendix II.

3. The Trustees were named as a part of an Act of Parliament entitled "An Act for Encouraging and Promoting Fisheries, and other Manufactures and Improvements in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, (George I, year 13). This act was a direct result of a

The Board's...School of Design...had its origin in 1760. On the 27th of June of that year, in pursuance of previous deliberations of the Board, as our records inform us, a "scheme or scroll of an advertisement anent the drawing-school was read, and it was referred to Lord Kames to take evidence of the capacity and genius for drawing of persons applying for instruction before they be presented to the drawing-school, and to report when the salary of Mr. Delacour, painter, who had been appointed to teach the school, should commence." This we believe to have been the first School of Design established in these kingdoms at the public expense.

Any account of the Trustee's Academy of Design must be rather thin as the records of its early career have been lost. Despite this regrettable circumstance, it is possible to piece together an outline of the history of the institution during the years 1760 to 1800. The central fact which emerges, that the Academy was little more than a school for manufacturer's apprentices until nearly the end of the century, makes the lack of records for this period less keenly felt.

The Trustee's Academy, as it was first instituted in 1760, was "for the promotion of a taste in the arts of design as applicable to manufactures." ¹ It is important to bear the commercial nature of the Academy in mind, for it persisted until 1798, or right up to the end of the period which I intend to cover. This practical purpose of the Trustee's new establishment was reflected in their choice of the first master, a Frenchman by the name of William ² Dela Cour, whose "principal qualifications for the mastership of a

petition to the King by the Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland. See Maxwell: Select Transactions, page 376. Also see Chapter 2, page 21, above, and Chapter 4, page 151, above.

1. Wilson: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Cases from Antique Statues, page 1.
2. The name of this first master has been given in a number of ways. Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 48, writes "Delacour"; Wilson: A

school of design was his experience as a decorator.¹ Dela Cour was
succeeded by another Frenchman, Pavillon,² in 1765. M. Pavillon was
followed, in 1771, by a Scotsman, Alexander Runciman.³ At this time
the salary of the master, who taught in "two apartments in the college"⁴
which had been granted by the Town-Council, was 120 pounds, and the
Board of Manufacturers "bestowed 15 pounds yearly, to be distributed
among the scholars by way of premium, for the first, second, and third
best drawings."⁵ The course under Runciman was four years, which
"was deemed sufficient for any boys or girls, of moderate capacity,
acquiring a knowledge in drawing sufficient to assist them in their
respective occupations, this institution being solely appropriated for
the use of manufactures, not intended as an academy of painting."⁶

Descriptive Catalogue, etc., page 1, gives "de la Cour"; and
Harvey: Notes on the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy,
page 165, gives Delacour.

1. Caw: Scottish Painting, Past and Present, page 35. Caw also gives a description of Dela Cour's work.
2. Caw: Scottish Painting, page 35; Wilson: A Descriptive Catalogue, Introduction; Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 48.
3. Caw: Scottish Painting, page 35; Wilson: A Descriptive Catalogue, Introduction; Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 40; Sommers: Life of Robert Fergusson, page 22; Arnot: History of Edinburgh, page 325; Cunningham: British Painters, Vol. 2, page 215. It has sometimes claimed that Runciman was a pupil at the Foulis Academy (Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 41; Cunningham: British Painters, Vol. 2, page 215) but this has been denied by David Murray: R. & A. Foulis: Their Glasgow Press, etc., page 86. In his preface to A Catalogue of Paintings, etc., Robert Foulis, who reviews the notable artists who studied in his Academy, makes no mention of Runciman, (See page 430 f., above.)
4. Arnot: History of Edinburgh, page 325. Compare the Academy of St. Luke on page 415, above.
5. Arnot: History of Edinburgh, page 325.
6. Ibid.

After Runciman's death in 1785, he was succeeded by another Scot, David Allan, who had received his early training in the Foulis Academy¹ of Fine Arts. Allan continued to teach in the Old College until 1790, when "the Academy was removed to an apartment, taken by the Board of Trustees, in Mint Court, from which it was afterwards transferred to a room at the top of a house in the High Street, rented at five guineas per annum."² After this, David Allan continued as Master of the Academy until 1796, when he was succeeded by John Wood who had the appointment only to suffer the disappointment of being "dismissed for incompetence after about a year's service."³ After Wood's dismissal, "the Trustees had the good fortune to appoint, from among nine or ten candidates, John Graham, under whom the work was greatly extended, and a collection of casts from the antique was formed."⁴

It was under the direction of John Graham that the Trustee's Academy underwent a metamorphosis which transformed it from a school

1. Caw: Scottish Painting, Past and Present, page 35; Wilson: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Antique Statues in the Trustee's Academy, Introduction; Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 48; Mackintosh: History of Civilization in Scotland, Vol. 4, page 466; Cunningham: British Painters, page 367, Vol. 2, and Sir David Wilkie, page 34; Armstrong: Scottish Painters, page 9.
2. Caw: Scottish Painting, page 67; Wilson: A Descriptive Catalogue, etc., page 1.
3. Caw: Scottish Painting, page 35-36.
4. Caw: Scottish Painting, page 36. As will shortly be explained, this was the first indication that the nature of the school had changed. Until Graham's appointment, the Trustee's Academy remained what it had been at the beginning, a school of crafts. I mention this at this time, for I feel that the nature of the Academy has been frequently misunderstood. Such misunderstanding usually occurs through assuming that the nature of the Academy in the eighteenth century was the same as it was in the early nineteenth. Such an assumption is completely unwarranted.

for craftsmen and manufacturer's apprentices to a true Academy of the fine arts. The influence of Graham, which began to be felt soon after his appointment as master in 1798, has been described in the following terms:-¹

Very little change or improvement in the instruction given took place until after John Graham's appointment. Originally founded with the intention of fostering design for manufactures, it was in fact a school of applied art. At first its work was directed to making designs for linen fabrics, and later its scope was widened to include other industries; but under Graham it definitely assumed the position of a school of artists as well. The "examples of fruit, flowers, and grotesque ornaments," which were previously the only models set before the students, were supplemented or superseded by a good collection of casts from the antique, pictorial composition was taught, and painting introduced as a definite study. To the premiums already given for drawing, others for painting were added, and the subjects for these compositions being chosen from poetry and history, Wilkie, like David Allan, started his career by winning a prize for a classical composition. Graham was a capable and enthusiastic man, his own work is not unworthy of respect, and his influence upon his pupils, of whom Wilkie, William Allan, and Watson Gordon are the more important, and through them on Scottish Art was great and salutary....

As I have attempted to make clear, because of its plebian nature the Trustee's Academy of Design in Edinburgh had little influence on the development of the fine arts in Scotland until the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries when David Wilkie, William Allan, John Watson Gordon, John Burnet, and the elder Fraser, the artists who formed the Scottish School, entered as pupils.²

1. Caw: Scottish Painting, pages 67-68; see also Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 48; Mackay: Scottish School of Painting, page 99; and Cunningham: Sir David Wilkie, page 35.

2. Caw: Scottish Painting, page 68; Cunningham: Sir David Wilkie, page 34 f., and British Painters, Vol. 3, pages 210-211; Armstrong: Scottish Painters, page 20; Mackay: Scottish School of Painting, page 99; Mackintosh: History of Civilization in Scotland, Vol. 4, page 474; and Finlay: Art in Scotland, page 86.

It is significant, for example, that the finest artist of the period, Sir Henry Raeburn, had no connection with the Trustee's Academy. Unlike the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts, however, the Edinburgh School of Design did not have any soaring aspirations, and has consequently escaped the censure which has fallen upon the unrealized ambitions of Robert Foulis. But this in no way alters the fact that as far as making an effort to develop Scottish art during the eighteenth century, Edinburgh must be ranked as secondary to Glasgow.

At the end of the century, however, signs other than the appointment of John Graham and the expansion of the Trustee's Academy indicated that the fine arts were being taken more seriously in Edinburgh. In November of 1797, the Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany¹ printed the following notice of a new society:-

At an earnest desire of many artists of Edinburgh, a society has recently been formed in that city, the object of which is National Improvement in the Fine Arts. It is thought by its founders that such a society may, in due time, conduce to render Scotland no less distinguished for works of genius than for its acknowledged progress in science. Mr. Nasmyth has been appointed the first president and Mr. A. Campbell, the secretary.

While it is not known whether the Society for National Improvement in the Fine Arts was responsible for the appointment of John Graham as master of the Trustee's Academy, and for supporting his policy of expansion, it is certain that the newly-formed Society would have done much to create a favourable attitude toward his efforts to improve that institution. And such support was badly needed, as

1. Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany, Vol. 10, New Series, November, 1797, page 371.

the Edinburgh manufacturers were not enthusiastic supporters of Graham's rather revolutionary introduction of oil painting for the first time into the Academy. "Will oil colours," they said, "as bright as those of Titian, add any lustre to a gown-piece, or a new charm to the flower and leaf on a table-cloth or carpet?" To which a map-engraver added, "Or will my apprentice, when he learns the magic of Rembrandt's colouring, become more skilful in etching the sinuosities¹ of a sea-coast, or in engraving an invitation card?" Despite the carping of these disinterested critics, however, Graham persisted in his attempts to infect his students with a taste for the fine arts. And it was chiefly due to his efforts, beginning in 1798, that the Trustees' Academy finally became, what it has often been described, "an institution² which exerted a great and salutary influence upon art in Scotland."

-
1. Cunningham: Sir David Wilkie, pages 35-36.
 2. Caw: Scottish Painting, Past and Present, page 35; Tonge: Arts of Scotland, page 48; and Finlay: Art in Scotland, page 86.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FICTITIOUS CLUBS AND SOCIETIES.

There is no argument which demonstrates the importance of clubs and societies to eighteenth-century life as effectively as that which points to the number and variety of fictitious organizations which appeared in the literature of the period. Whether as a pretext to add weight to a writer's individual opinions, as the product of an author's fertile imagination, or as a mere invention to add spice to anecdotes, clubs and societies were created in an endless variety. The tide of fictional associations, which may be said to have begun in the pages of the Spectator, continued so strongly through nearly all the periodical papers which followed the example set by Addison and Steele that imaginative clubs and societies became one of the literary conventions which characterized those publications. But

1. The following chart will illustrate the number of clubs which appeared in the periodical papers of the century.

<u>Paper.</u>	<u>Vol. No.</u>	<u>Paper No.</u>	<u>Name of Organization.</u>
Spectator	vi	1 and 2	The Spectator Club.
"		9	The Beef-Steak Club,
"			The Kit Kat Club,
"			The October Club,
"			The Two-Penny Club.
"		17	The Ugly Club
"		30	The Amorous Club,
"			The Fringe-Glove Club,
"			The Sighing Club.
"	vii	72	The Ugly Club.
"	ix	217	The She-romp Club.

this was not the end of it. The fictitious clubs often led to the establishment of real ones, and these, in turn, became so popular that they added to the available material upon which additional essays could be written.¹

<u>Paper.</u>	<u>Vol. No.</u>	<u>Paper No.</u>	<u>Name of Organization.</u>
Spectator	xi	320	The Lazy Club.
"		324	The Mohocks.
"		372	The Lawyer's Club,
"			The Moving Club.
"	xiii	474	The Hen-Pecked Club.
"		508	The Rulers of Great Tyrants.
"	xiv	553	A Club at Oxford for
"			re-hearing the Spectator.
"		560	The Chit-Chat Club.
"		561	The Widow's Club.
"		630	The Rattling Club.
Guardian	xvii	91, 92	The Little Club.
"		108	The Tall Club.
"		121	The Silent Club.
"	xviii	143	The Terrible Club.
Rambler	xxii	177	An Antiquities Club.
Adverturer	xxiii	10, 13	A Disputing Club.
World	xxvi	42	A Convivial Club.
Idler	xxxiii	78	A Club of Learned Men.
Looker-on	xli	3, 24	The Looker-On's Club.

(The volume numbers above refer to those of Alexander Chalmers collection of British Essayists.)

The activities of the members of the fictitious clubs which appeared in these papers were sometimes considered to be their chief attraction. "The secret charm of the Spectator consisted in interesting the reader in the characters and actions of the several members of the club, and consequently in the dramatic cast given to these essays..." (Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany, Vol. 11, new series, January 1798, page 18.)

1. The process of which I have spoken was not confined to Great Britain. In France, Addison's essays had a similar result. "Laurent Bordelon, docteur de Sorbonne et auteur dramatique, (deux qualités qu'on trouverait rarement réunies), au milieu d'une masse de livres, qui souvent n'ont de piquant que le titre, nous a laissé un opusculé peu commun, intitulé: La Coterie des des Anti-Faconniers établie dans L. C. J. D. B. L. S. Relation où l'on traite de l'establissement de cette coterie, Paris, 1716. Dans ce livre, l'auteur traite d'une société particulière qui s'était formée à l'instar des coteries anglaises dont Addison avait parlé dans son Spectateur. Soit que la coterie des Anti-

Fictitious clubs and societies, however, were not confined solely to the periodical papers. The eighteenth century was a period in European culture in which egocentric ideas and opinions were not welcomed. It was much safer for an individual to share his ideas with his fellow mortals, and to speak, as it were, for the group mind rather than to indulge in what was to become the romantic ideal by displaying his genius through his originality. This predilection for a responsible corporate judgment led to a common pretext on the part of individual writers that they were speaking for a group. And a logical development of this intellectual bias for the judgment of men in a society was a gain of prestige for those institutions. As a natural result of this tendency to honour the corporate body, and whenever it was desired to give additional weight to an idea, a proposal for public improvement, or to a new publication, it was very common to indicate that the source of all these good things was "a society of gentlemen." In the same way, it was generally considered legitimate to give an added fillip to any anecdote by arranging matters so that the incident took place in a club or a society.

There are, therefore, three general types of fictitious clubs and societies. The first type consists of those which appeared in periodical publications as the subject of an essay, or as a pretext to give additional weight to the observations of an author.

Faconniers ait réellement existé en France, soit qu'elle n'ait pris naissance que dans l'imagination assez active de l'abbé Bordelon, nous dire quels étaient son but & sa composition." (Les Sociétés Badines, Bachiques, Littéraires, et Chantantes; Leur Histoire et Leurs Travaux, (ouvrage posthume) de M. Arthur Dinaux, revu et classe par M. Gustave Brunet, Vol. 1, page 36.)

... page 51.

As a variation of this type, we may also include those clubs which were invented as a device for giving parliamentary reports. The second type are those fictitious clubs and societies which were the products of the imagination of writers of fiction. These may be distinguished from the clubs which appeared in the periodical papers in that they did not pretend to be anything else, whereas the fictitious organizations which appeared in the periodical papers invariably made the pretence of having some foundation in reality. The third, and last, type of fictitious organization was that which was the deliberate invention, though offered as fact, of a club or a society to add local colour to an anecdote, or, as in the case of Robert Chamber's many inventions in this manner, to add interest and vivacity to an account of the past. The rather fine distinctions between the three types will become clearer as each is illustrated in its turn.

One of the first fictitious clubs to appear in a Scottish publication as a result of the literary fashion begun in the English periodical papers was the Critical Club which published a volume of¹ Essays in the year 1738.² This "professed society" consisted of six members, Will Portly, Dick Crotchet, Tom Meanwell, Old Lady Courtly, Miss Jennie (her daughter), and Jack Plyant who acted as³ the club President. In the first issue it was carefully explained

1. Letters of the Critical Club, containing miscellaneous observations upon Men, Manners, and Writings. Begun in the month of January, 1738, and published Monthly at Edinburgh, Vol. I, from the Month of January, to the Month of June inclusive; Edinburgh, printed by W. Cheyne. The collected volume was dedicated to Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session.
2. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 69.
3. Letters of the Critical Club, Letter number two, page 5 f.

that the organization was not a scandle club, but "a moral rectifier," and that the club's only aim as "true critics" was that of a "Reformation of Manners."¹ From the first, in keeping with the established literary tradition, the member's affairs figured largely in the essays.²

Although the organization's plan had been to publish the papers in single issues in imitation of the Spectator Club, this plan was abandoned, and it was decided to issue the publication in monthly "pamphlets."³ The reason for this decision was given in an "Address to the Public" which made up the first number:-⁴

As there have been several Attempts made in this Place, of publishing Papers of the kind, and frequently with very indifferent success, it may seem impudent and assuming in us to trouble the Publick with these Papers, as if we promised ourselves to succeed better than others have done, and put a greater Value upon our own Abilities and Parts, than those of our Predecessors, who have writ in the same way before us; yet, we beg that the Publick would not put that Construction upon it, and be more charitable to us. We thought maturely on the Matter before we adventured it, and, upon Consideration of the double Disadvantage that the Publishers of such Papers ly under, of publishing them in single papers, and paying the Duty, which makes them very dear, so that People grudge to purchase them, and besides laying in too small a Provision before they begin, by which they run out, and the Paper degenerates and turns insipid; we thought, if we could shun these Inconveniencies, we should probably succeed, for we have laid in, first, a good Provision

1. Letters of the Critical Club, paper number two, page 5 f.
2. Ibid, see especially pages 8, 9, 20, 97, 108, 109, bot. 136, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, and 330.
3. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 70.
4. Letters of the Critical Club, paper number one, page 2 f. The Duty referred to in the "Address to the Publick" was that which had to be paid on all periodicals when they were published at intervals of seven days or less. One of the common methods of getting around the tax was by publishing every eight days.

for the Time to come, and then, by publishing them in monthly Pamphlets, we render the Price less, by paying no Duty; we hope the Publick will take this Design in good Part, and, if we should not succeed, to put a favourable Construction upon it, as it is commendable, tho' it may be misfortunate. And, at the same Time, we shall reckon ourselves obliged to any Gentlemen or Ladies, who shall favour us with their Correspondence. The Publick is desired to excuse the Lateness of the Publication of this Pamphlet for January, it being the first, and we not being fully resolved upon the Thing, made us more tardy than otherwise we would have been, but the following ones, if this takes, shall be published sooner.

The March issue of the Letters announced a change in the form of the publication. Because it had been complained that the "pamphlet" for February was too small, it had been decided that "to make up the size in future they would publish, as an appendix, 'such poems or songs as shall come to our hands.'" ¹ In general, the content of the essays was in imitation of the Spectator. The publication lasted for about six months.

In January and March, 1742, the Scots Magazine printed a brief exchange of correspondence which demonstrates, in a rather pleasing way, the principle which I have already advanced, that a fictitious club was frequently a pretext by means of which a writer would advance his ideas. The exchange of letters began with an account, which may have been genuine, of a small club of lovers. This account reads as follows:-²

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

I had the following letter some time ago, when I was in

1. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 70.

2. Scots Magazine, January, 1742, page 37 f.

the country, from a friend, giving me an account of a club of which he had been lately made a member. I have since been exceedingly pleased with it, as it has a great deal of the spirit of youth and gaiety, and at the same time serves all the ends of the most sober and grave institutions. It would be needless to say any thing in general of these little societies; I think it is evident they have the strongest tendency to cultivate and improve the social temper, to strengthen the natural ties of friendship and affection, and promote the freedom and easiness of humour in conversation. Your giving this a place in your next Magazine, will oblige

Yours, etc.,
Favior.

Dear sir,

Edinburgh 29, Dec. 1741.

In compliance with what you so anxiously require, I shall give you an account of the club I have been lately admitted a member of, which it seems has reached your ears. It consists of Gentlemen whose youth and inclinations lead them to converse on some occasions of that soft insinuating passion which introduces the strongest friendship betwixt the two sexes: 'tis here they have an opportunity of communicating their thoughts to each other, and comparing their sentiments with what the most celebrated geniuses have produced on that subject: this gives a wonderful life to their conversation. The room appropriated for the meeting, has an appearance peculiarly suited to the spirit of the company; and the very meats and drinks are no less calculated for that end. The freedom and intimacy of conversation, on this enlivening subject, amongst persons entirely known to one another, are sure to produce the greatest mirth and good humour.

In this happy disposition, they forget not to recognize every beauty of life, to admire the inward features and proportions of a virtuous mind, and the grace and beauty of actions proceeding from thence, and so pass thro' every other subject of the like nature. - Each member at his admission signs certain regulations agreed upon at the original institution of the meeting. For regulating the admission of the members, and preserving a strict sobriety and equality amongst them, every one has a negative in all votes and questions, and the members are admitted by balloting, where the strictest secrecy is enjoined under a severe penalty. As soon as a member is admitted, he wears a gold badge, peculiarly calculated for the society. On the one side is a Venus, standing on a shell, drawn on the ocean by her doves, with this motto, Parum comis sine te juventas. On the reverse is a Cupid, holding a glass in one hand, and with his other stirring it with an arrow, and this motto inscribed, Non alia bibam mercede. The meetings are held on Fridays, as often as a quorum of the members agree, and the anniversary meeting

is on the first Friday of May. The society cannot at any time exceed twelve. — Here, then, my friend, is harmony, concord, and an entire enjoyment of the sweetest pleasures of fellowship and society, amongst persons sincerely devoted to each other, on the most entertaining, as well as the most instructive subjects.

Here love his golden shafts employs,
Here lights His constant lamp, and
Waves his purple wings,
Reigns here and revels. —

In the March issue, the following burlesque account of an organization copied after the Cupid's Supper Club came from a correspondent in Glasgow:—

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

Glasgow, February 25.

The account in your January Magazine of a club at Edinburgh, has determined some young fellows here to associate once a-week, after their example, to enjoy the innocent pleasures of society and familiar conversation. We met for the first time last night, on purpose to concert the name and oeconomy of our club. — Mr. Hairbrain Loveless stoop'd up first, and moved that we should assume the name of the Edinburgh club, which, as he was informed by a correspondent at that place, is called the Cupid's Supper. Mr. Townley Truelove, a very remote relation of his, opposed this notion with abundance of heat; affirming, that we were to be directed, not determined, by their example; that this appellation was, in his humble opinion, neither suitable nor ingenious. It only imports (continued he) that they assembled to sup on meats peculiarly calculated as they term it, for the spirit of the company. By this they seem to distrust the assistance of their little Deity, and rely upon the entertainment of his table; which I should be afraid might provoke his rage, to play the devil some night with his leaden arrows, or prevail on his friend Apollo to withdraw his influence; and then, deserted by love and wit, Cupid's Supper will (alledged he) become very tasteless and insipid to others, however much suited to the spirit and palate of their company. He then affirmed, with an apology for the expression, that by saying too much, they had meant too little: By saying Cupid's Supper Club instead of Cupid's Club, they were fallen into a sort of apostacy from the genuine delicacy of love, and play'd the part of a clownish guest, who stupidly tells his friend, that he comes to dine, or fill his own belly, not at all to enjoy his company. He then proceeded to state the vote, Supper or Not? — At this several of the unthinking absent lovers

1. Scots Magazine, March, 1742, pages 121 - 122.

started extremely, imagining he meant to exclude them from the benefit of a good supper and a moderate glass; but being assured that the question only related to the name of their club, not to their practice, the vote was put, and carried by a great majority, no Supper.

Mr. Truelove, in the confidence of this sanction given to his first opinion, after a modest apology, next objected to the formality of their method with respect to the admitting of members. -- This (said he) will reduce the gaiety and freedom of our love-society (which is neither more nor less than a parcel of young acquaintances assembled to be merry) to the constraint and solemnity of a senate. Nor can I see the wit of admitting by ballot, nor the humour or device of their badge. -- Upon the one side, we see Venus, liker a witch than a Goddess, rigged out in an egg-shell, if you will, and drawn along by her doves. Tho' the sea-froth gave birth to Madam Venus, I don't find that she was ever so fond of a sail, as desperately to expose her delicate tender person on so slender a bottom. Her frolick with Mars, when all the Gods were made spectators of Vulcan's cuckoldom, is known; but I do not hear that she ever visited the regions of the deep, to pass a fond night with the stormy monarch of the sea. -- On the reverse, Cupid is very busy out of his own vocation; he justles jolly Bachus out of his office, lays aside his bow and employs his arrow only to stir the liquor. True love, Gentlemen, is not the flashes of a heated imagination; it is a noble passion, a delicate and soft desire, which smooths the rugged temper natural to man, and exalts the soul. False love is an ignoble base passion, which a dram can improve, and an abandon'd wench can gratify. If they had omitted those devices, and exhibited Venus our sovereign Lady without any foppery on the one side, and on the reverse her little darling minion Cupid, I should not have accused them of absurdity. -- But, that we may not seem in this neither to depart entirely from their model, whence we proposed to derive the rules of our society, let us wear a badge of distinction as well as they; and that I propose shall be a chearful and pleasant countenance; let peace and joy bloom in our looks, and unaffected grace and modesty diffuse itself thro' every gesture and motion of our bodies. -- Here he ended, and after some few disputes, our meeting dissolved for this occasion.

By inserting this, you'll oblige our club and among the rest,

Yours, etc., A. B.

P. S. We determined, before we parted, that no student of law should be admitted, but he who could afford leisure to be in love, and who solemnly assured us that he should not read above two hours a-day at the Corpus, and not one syllable the day of our meeting, lest he should become too captious and talkative or too serious and solemn.

This mild satirizing is the first of a number of examples of the way in which clubs had become, after the example set by Addison, pretexts for advancing ideas of reform in social behaviour. A second example, which appeared in the same magazine for June 1745, is more obvious in its intent:

Universal Spectator, June 29.

The following plan of a new society is very just, and so well explained, that I shall not add any thing more than a recommen-
dation to such of my readers, who may have need of the discipline there-in instituted, to enter themselves of it immediately. To which end I hope Mr. Gripewell will by his next signify where it is held, and whether it is not proposed that this order, like the Free Masons, Gregorians, and Ubiquarians, should branch itself out into numerous lodges, chapters, or senates, to be held in different parts, not only of this metropolis, but of the whole kingdom.

Mr. Stonecastle,

Your ancestors in speculation have been very copious and entertaining in their descriptions of Clubs, many of which do not now any longer exist: and methinks it should be a part of your business, when any new order arises, that we ought either to hope, or fear, may grow considerable, to give us your thoughts upon it as soon as possible, that we may know how to behave whenever we are solicited to become members.

But, as it is impossible, unless you had two or three invisible Pacolets, (of which one, in former times, could serve old Bickerstaff of merry memory), for you to know what is doing at all parts of the town in this age of invention and society, I think those who are concerned in the foundation of any new community, of which they are not ashamed, should make a merit of giving you as early notice of it as possible, with as much of their constitutions as is necessary to be made publick. And where there is any attempt to establish a scandalous convention, that may be hurtful to society in general, it is the undoubted interest of every one not concerned, to expose and unkennel the noxious creatures, before their poison has had too much effect upon the young and unwary. — By this means you will become the Censor-general of Clubs in Great Britain, an office of late years acknowledged to be much wanted.

In this quality I have directions to salute you by the inexorable order of Pinchers, who have lately incorporated

themselves for the reformation of manners, and of whom I have the honour to be the unworthy President. --- We have no secret among ourselves, nor do we desire that our rules may be a secret to the rest of the world; because we are in hopes, that by making them publick we shall save ourselves a great deal of trouble, and that some persons, who have now no guard upon their own tongues, will be always awed, when upon the point of transgressing, for fear there should be a Pincher within hearing.

You must know, Sir, that the original meeting of the first members, who now call ourselves fathers of the society, was not upon our present system. We were about twelve particular friends, whose view in our weekly assembly was our mutual improvement in useful knowledge. But as, in matters of inquiry, disputes will sometimes arise, and disputes are too often productive of heat, it was observed that some members, when pretty much raised, were apt to use unbecoming expressions, or, in plain English, to swear. Now, as this is what I never do myself, I am a constant monitor, in all companies where I can take the liberty, whenever I hear any thing of this nature. I had for some evenings repeated my admonitions against swearing in the club; was every time thanked for my advice, and had a promise of more care for the future. But bad habits are not easily broken off without more than common vigilance over our conduct. This was here manifestly the case, tho' I believe every one of the guilty did actually design amendment. - At last, happening one night to sit near the greatest sinner and most frequent penitent, and perceiving him to lapse several times tho' his monitor was at his elbow, Will, (I said), take it for a warning, I will use no more words about the matter, but the next oath I hear from you, expect a hard pinch upon your arm. Will acquiesced in the condition, and for sometime went on in only plain language.

But in about half an hour, having advanced something that was not admitted, and meeting with pretty warm opposition, my friend's circumspection left him, and he began to rap it again, in the usual strain. I had a curse or two myself for griping his arm, before he recollected his crime, and as I pinched still harder the more he offended, a slap in the face was just ready to follow. But the next right-hand man stopped the blow, and told him the justice of his punishment. -- Will, tho' very passionate, is a right good-natured fellow, and can no more bear to give than to receive an injury. He immediately returned thanks to the Gentlemen who had restrained his rashness, and asked my pardon for having intended me the least affront: For the future, (said he), when I am pinched, I shall know the occasion; and, Gentlemen, I beg in general that not one of you would spare me whenever I am culpable.

Will's frank and generous request being a certain sign that he wished in earnest to reform, it was so well relished by the whole company, that they unanimously entered into a pinching association, in which every member has liberty to proceed to immediate execution

upon his guilty brother. It already has had the desired effect; and some of our greatest swearers, by having their custom broke for three hours in an evening, have found themselves able to discontinue it in other companies, and talk like reasonable creatures. One or two of them, I must confess, complained of sore arms, for the first month: but they all now say, they would not have missed the benefit for double the pain. And their reformation has had such effect abroad, that several common swearers whom we would not have admitted upon any other account, have at their own request been voted members: and are now in a fair way, not only to be quiet inoffensive companions, but to make some discoveries of better understanding than they were before suspected of possessing. We have candidates to ballot for every club-night; and this evening admitted no less than seven.

I should not forget to tell you, that some few, for the first night or two after their admission, tho' it was done at their own request, have been a little refractory under discipline, and even sworn they would not be pinched so hard or so often. But they soon find their obstinacy to no purpose, except to bring down upon them greater punishment: for, if a man refuses to submit to the correction of him who first offers it, three or four are sure to attack him at once; and, if he offends under the rod, the severity is farther heightened, because this is looked upon as the strongest sign of an incorrigible temper.

I am, etc., T. Gripewell. June 24.

But the pretext of speaking as for a society was not only used for the purposes of reforming manners. In December, 1753, the Scots Magazine printed the following proposals for a "society of gentlemen" who purported to have set themselves up as theatrical critics:-

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

Edinburgh, Dec., 31, 1753.

The following piece of dramatic criticism, is the production of a society of gentlemen, who intend, if you find it agreeable to your readers, to publish, in your entertaining miscellany, a paper of the same kind every month while the playhouse continues open; so that the public may have a compleat review of the performances of such pieces as are exhibited on the Caledonian stage; in which the nicest regard will be had for truth and candour and the faults and merits of the principal actors impartially examined, and set in a just light.

1. Scots Magazine, December 1753, pages 610-612.

The reader may suspect that such a society did, indeed, really exist, and he may be right. The January issue immediately following,¹ however, casts suspicions on the critics:-

To the Editor of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

Edinburgh, January 31.

In your last Magazine you gave us some observations on the principal actors who have appeared on the stage this winter. The design was, no doubt, good; and, if well executed, would, I believe, have given general satisfaction, and contributed not a little to correct the faults of our players; who, had they been certain of applause when they really deserved it, would have exerted themselves to the utmost, and strove to have excelled, each in their particular characters. So far however is this author from proposing to himself the good end I have mentioned, that his criticisms (if they deserve the name) seem rather calculated to mislead the judgment of the town, and to defraud merit of that praise, which, where ever it appears, it claims as its due.... I own he is not equally unjust to all. He has bestowed lavishly on Mr. Lee those commendations which he generally so well deserves; and Mr. Griffith, whose Manly he seems to be so very fond of, has no reason to complain of him.

I speak of this critic in the singular number, because, although his piece is said to be the work of a society, I take it rather to be the production of ... a single person.

This "society of dramatic critics," whether fictitious or not, continued with considerable success, and the entire theatrical season was reviewed in detail.² This is an interesting anticipation of the function of the theatrical critic of the present day.

Another example of a "society of critics", though slightly more facetious, appeared in an article in the Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement for 4th March, 1773. The author of the article, "Stephen Standish", who had apparently made other contributions to the Magazine,

1. Scots Magazine, January, 1754, page 41 f.

2. Reviews of theatrical performances appeared in the Scots Magazine for December (page 610 f.), February (page 90 f.), and March (pages 93, 142, and 143), covering the 1754-1755 theatrical season.

after complimenting the publisher on the general excellence of his publication, offers to suggest certain improvements. To add emphasis to his remarks, he employs the device of speaking for a society because, as he himself states, "all essayists generally belong to some particular club."¹ Stephen Standish's description of the "Witling Club for which he is the spokesman, is as follows:-²

I beg leave... to lay before you a scheme for the further improvement of (your magazine), which, at a late meeting, was warmly espoused by a great majority of the Witling Club, of which (as all essayists generally belong to some particular club) I have the honour to be a member. After informing you of the name of our society, it is perhaps unnecessary to tell you, that we are all sons of the Muses; but whether we are of the legitimate or bastard breed, I can neither satisfy you nor myself.

The suggestion offered by the Club is that of establishing a department in the Weekly Magazine to be known as the Dunce's Den, "where every scribbling felon, impostor or madman, may be consigned over to public infamy." Standish closes with another appeal to the force of opinion which the pretended club affords him:-

I hope, Mr. Printer, that the arguments I have already used, together with the request of the whole club (and that too, let me tell you, none of the least respectable), will be sufficient to induce you to adopt this salutary scheme, which I have thought proper to communicate to you in this manner, that, should you reject it, my conscience may stand acquitted.

The popularity of debating societies after the 1770's, and the high opinion which the public entertained of their usefulness, led inevitably to many pretensions that an occasional piece had been read before such a society. As an example of this, we find in the

1. Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Thursday, March 4, 1773, page 304.

2. Ibid.

Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement for Thursday, October 8, 1772,
an essay which claimed to have had its origin in a Sentimental Society
in Aberdeen. In an introduction to the essay, a short account of the
"society" demonstrates the connection between the Spectator Club and
the popularity of all kinds of clubs at this period:-¹

To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine.

Aberdeen, September 28.

Sir,

It is with the sincerest pleasure I congratulate you on the
fame of your Magazine, which daily gains applause in this
place, by your judicious selection of the periodical pieces
that are sent you from every quarter. -- Inclosed you have
the introductory essay, which was spoken the first current,
at a society of young gentlemen in this place. Numerous
indeed are the societies now formed here of every denominat-
ion. We have endeavoured to give you a short account of them
in the introduction. If both be agreeable and suit your pur-
pose, you may insert them in your Magazine, and you shall soon
hear from us again.

Yours, etc.,

L_____.

Introduction

When o'er the breeches greedy women
Fight to extend their vast dominion;
And in the cause impatient Grizzle
Has drubb'd her husband with bull's pizzle,
And they in mortal battle vanquished,
Are of their charter disfranchis'd -

Hudibras.

1. Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 18, Thursday,
October 8, 1772, page 35 f.

Clubs may without any great stretch be supposed to have derived their origin in some measure from the folly and crabbed tempers of women quarelling and striving, as Hudibras very archly terms it, for the breeches. The poor man banished his home, by arbitrary and unnatural power, often flies for refuge to company, and repairs to the shrine of the jolly Bacchus as an asylum, there to drown his complicated cares, and comfort himself for his bad usage at home, by a free circulation of the glass; so that clubs, in their original and common practice, seem to be calculated for hardly any other purpose than fostering appetites mankind enjoy in common with brutes, and crushing the bitter seeds of reflections that usually engender in the hearts of man, on account of their own misconduct, or the tyranny of their impatient ribs. Hence floods of unmeaning jollity and immoderate mirth are the usual characteristics of societies of men instituted upon such ragged foundations. By degrees, men of relection, we shall suppose, began to act in their several societies on a more enlarged plan, by converting even their misfortunes, as far as possible, to their advantage, and turning the tide of their humour to useful inquiries and profitable investigations. Whether or not the famous Socrates of old resorted to any club to console himself for the severities of his help-mate the immortal Xantippe, as we have no authority from antient history to assert any such thing, we shall wisely observe a profound silence on the matter. In the reign of queen Anne of famous memory, the paragon and pattern of useful, and serviceable, clubs seems to have shone forth with inimitable luster: Graced with the respectable names of a Spectator, a Sir Roger de Coverly, Sir Andrew Freeport, and even a Will Honeycomb, this immortal club will flourish for ever with unfading beauty and a noble grandeur. The depraved taste of mankind, however, from the capital even to the country village, seems always to have coveted more of the animal than the mental food, and the cherishing the appetites than the refining the taste. From this quarter may be reckoned too many formed on this corrupted plan. From the rulers of our town, that guzzle down the Falernian juice, to the cobbler who weekly drowns his cares in bumpers of halesome October, we could enumerate various societies of different manners and as different tastes. The Porter Club, Mutton Chop and Tripe ditto, Cow-heel, Sheep-head and Cockold Clubs, Beef and Crab Eaters, Female Societies of all kinds; and many more not mentioned, merely designed for gratifying brutal lusts or propagating scandal. Nevertheless from every general rule there are exceptions; and we can boast of a society of youth, (for the very name of a "club" carries with it too disagreeable ideas), neither compelled by the frowns of females, nor the remorse of gnawing consciences for any misconduct, who speak better things, and are formed on a quite different plan. Subjoined we give you the essay spoke at the meeting of The Sentimental Society of this place the first current, being their first meeting for this season. If such attempts might so far be crowned with success as to induce others to quit the old path, it would be agreeable to every wellwisher to mankind,

and more profitable to themselves. The essay was never designed for the press; the members are but young, and therefore they may justly hope for the indulgence and countenance of the public. Let snarling critics be dumb who are ever alert in finding fault, and dull in the discovery of beauties.

Sentimentalis.

A very similar society, and for an identical purpose, appeared in the Female Chearful Society which produced two essays on "Chearfulness".

The essays, as well as several letters in reply, some approving, and some not, were published in the Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement for 1778.¹ In this instance, one of the letters in reply has detected the fact that the "society" was probably a fictitious one.² It is sometimes impossible to determine whether such an organization had any real foundation in fact, but because of the popularity of the device, I have come to the conclusion that an assumption of a fictitious origin is justified in all doubtful cases.

Fictitious debating clubs, however, were not only used to lend prestige to an occasional essay. The purpose for which many such clubs were invented was often satirical. The following account of a Potations Club mocks the "self-improvement" that so often was a part of the plan of the debating societies of this period:³

To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine.

Sir, Annan, January 1, 1773.

I was some time ago agreeably entertained with Essays wrote by young gentlemen belonging to private societies in Aberdeen.

1. Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 39, Wednesday, January 14, 1778, page 61; January 28, 1778, page 106; March 25, 1778, page 300.

2. "Both the papers are evidently the production of the same pen... (but) you modestly give them out as the work of separate societies." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, March 25, 1778, page 300.)

3. Ibid, Thursday, January 7, 1773, page 47 f.

The discourses were indeed unexceptionable, but the plan upon which these societies (according to the account given of them in your Magazine¹) were founded, was, in my opinion, too contracted. The cultivation of their own geniuses appeared to be their sole motive for associating together. Now, it is obvious, Sir, that, although they, in a great measure, gained the end proposed, yet the advantages resulting from thence will only redound to themselves, without proving beneficial to the commonwealth in general.

As I am an enthusiastic patriot, I intend to constitute a club here (the principal design of which will be to promote the public interest), under the denomination of the Potation Club. The rules to be observed are indeed very few. Regularity, friendship, brotherly love, and a great many other old-fashioned virtues, so much boasted of by private societies in days of yore, are intirely out of the question, as their opposite extremes will be found much more serviceable for accomplishing our purpose.

The quantity to be drunk at each meeting must be determined by the weight of our purses. As drinking is so much in vogue at present, it will be no difficult task to find members sufficiently qualified to be admitted into our society: but, as I hate prolixity, I shall, with as much brevity as possible, endeavour to show the utility of this club.

In the first place, it will tend to promote the circulation of cash, which will undoubtedly be a very meritorious action, as there is a great stagnation with respect to that article at present.

2dly. It will increase the public revenue, as the greater quantities of spirituous liquors that are drunk, so much the more excise-money will be levied.

3dly. When the fumes arising from hot punch have ascended into the brain, what glorious actions are men then capable to atchieve? What elegant efforts of genius do they then exhibit? It is then they can propose the most plausible schemes for clearing the national debt, for settling parliamentary debates, and for placing the affairs of the East-India company upon the most advantageous and respectable footing.

4thly. When men are inspired by the above-mentioned spirit, viz. of punch, their zeal for the public transports them to such a pitch, that they often break windows, household furniture, and sometimes one another's heads, and consequently

1. For this account, see page 290, note #1, above, or the Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 22, Thursday, October 21, 1773, page 105 f.

afford employment for the glazier, cabinet-maker, surgeon, and sometimes the lawyer, and by that means verify Mandeville's favourite maxim, "That private vices are public benefits."

What strong incitements are these, Mr. Printer, for every benevolent soul to join our society, or one of a similar nature. If you print this, to induce others to follow our laudable example, you may probably, some time or other, be favoured with the president's patriotic speech at the commencement of the club. In the mean time, I am,

Sir, Yours, etc., Sylvander.

In the same vein as the "Potation Club", another fictitious debating society was invented as the talking point of a rollicking lampoon against the fashionable Pantheon and other debating societies. The account of this club, called the Society of Essences and Perfumes in the essay, appeared in the Weekly Magazine for March, 1775:-¹

To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine.

Sir, Pentland-hills, February 6.

Debating societies, pantheons, and clubs, are now become so plenty, that there is scarcely a country village without them. This is good news to you Mr. Printer; what shoals of elaborate essays, orations, and philosophical investigations (if you keep the sleuce open), will now float in the channel of the Weekly Magazine? For your further comfort I hereby inform you, that there is soon to be formed a new society on a new plan, and for a new and valuable purpose, under the name of the Society of Essences and Perfumes, and all this not a decade of miles from the assembly-hall. There is a set of men, of whom I have the honour to be one (though many will not allow us to be men, comparing us from the middle downward to a pair of bagpipes, and the other half of us to a monkey), who are known and distinguished, by the name of Macaronies; I, Mr. Printer, and other ten men of the brotherhood; for d_____e we are men, and will be men, and prove that we are men; (by Jupiter my toupee is discomposed); I was going to say, Sir, that I and this honourable decemvirate have formed original laws and regulations for constituting a pantheon of macaronimen. The first meeting of our Society, Mr. Typographer, is to be as soon as the April flowers are blown, and some ships laden with pomatum, powder, and perfumes, which we expect about the same time, are safely arrived in the Thames.

1. Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 27, Thursday, March 2, 1775, pages 302-303.

In the interim, we have agreed to display our banner composed of essences, ribbands, ruffles, and fans; and to publish the articles that must be subscribed by every man who chuses to be initiated into our society. Article first, None to be admitted but macaronies, and who can evince that they are men, and gentlemen philosophers, by explaining, to the satisfaction of the original members of the society, the essence and pomatum and puffs, and the suction and ebullition of powder bellows. Article second, None to be admitted members who cannot, with the proper distortions of the neck and the muscles of the face, rightly pronounce, No mou! thank you ma'am! Article third, None to be initiated whose breeches are not three times as capacious as the circumference of his thighs, and the tail of his coat must not be above five inches dependent, that so it may project with decency, above his posteriors. Article fourth, None to be admitted who cannot vibrate a lady's fan, and whose toupee does not overtop his pericranium at least four inches. Article fifth, none to be admitted without nose-gays, hair pins, ruffles, perfumes, and a snuff-box a la mode de Paris.

All macaroni-men who answer the qualifications required in these articles, and chuse to subscribe obedience to them, will be allowed to take their seats in this society, which is to commence at the time before mentioned, at _____. There a capacious room is now fitting up in the most elegant manner, with pictures, perfumes, looking-glasses, and nature's babies. At the first meeting, Mr. Printer, I, in quality of president, am to give an inaugural, elegant, elaborate, philosophical, macaronical explanation of the essence of perfumes, pomatum, butterflies, tea, china-ware, toupees, ribbands, negligees, pin-cushions, ruffles, and fans. The question for the next meeting of our society is to be, Whether is the taylor or the barber the more useful being? After this the following questions are to be discussed sucessively: Whether is not a macaroni as far above the vulgar, as the butterfly is above her former wormship? - Whether is a sword (I tremble, Mr. Printer!), or a lady's fan the more honourable weapon? - Whether are plain or flowered ruffles most handsome? - Whether are looking-glasses, or powder (not gun-powder, Mr. Printer, oh no!), the more valuable commodity? - What is ogling and what lady first practised it? - Whether is an ogle or a frown, the most effective method of killing?

Thus far, Sir, I have, in the paulo post futurum tense, explicated the constitution and design of our society, by which we will convince the world, that we are gentlemen, and philosophers, and not bag-pipes and two-legged mummies, as our inferiors would make us believe. - Now, Mr. Printer, insert this in your Magazine, and whatever discoveries, decisions, and orations, are made in this society, shall, for the public good, be regularly transmitted to you, by

Yours, etc., A complete Macaroni-Man.

Another small piece, which appeared in the Scots Spy, or Critical Observer, appears to have been intended for a similar purpose. This¹ time the clergy have been singled out for a little harmless satire:-

To the Publisher of the Scots Spy.

Sir,

It is generally said, that clubs or social meetings are neither so frequent or numerous in Scotland as they are in England, very probably this may be the case in general, but I can affirm, that in some parts, our countrymen are now endeavouring to imitate their southern brethren in those friendly and convivial meetings, which certainly promote a spirit of love and good neighbourhood; and I am happy in having it in my power to record one instance, wherein the usefulness and happy consequences of this institution is abundantly demonstrated.

In a certain part of the country, a club composed of clergymen has been lately formed; at one of these meetings not long ago, a small dispute arose betwixt two of these reverend gentlemen. Mr. M'_____ alledged that Mr. G_____ was the author of the queries lately inserted in the Weekly Magazine, under the signature of Sophia (and) expatiated on the cruel foolishness of exposing a young lady, by dating them from the place where such resided. Mr. G_____ warmly replied, Mr. M'_____ called his antagonist gowke-fool, and a number of polite names to the same purpose. This was too much to bear. Mr. G_____, (whose staple doctrine in the pulpit is, "if a man smite you on one cheek, offer him the other;") jumped up, and a deadly engagement would have ensued betwixt the two worthy brethren, had not the rest of the Gentlemen of the Cloth interposed, and prevented the shedding of innocent blood, I am,

U. Z.

Although "improving societies" were plentiful from 1723 onward, there was, as far as I am aware, but one fictitious society of the type. This society, which began in a magazine called the Scots Town and Country Magazine in 1778, was continued in the Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scot's Town and Country Intelligencer in 1779. The² members of this "pseudo-society" were Sir Harry, a clergyman (nameless), Mr. Heartfree, and the reporting clerk. The subjects discussed by

1. Scots Spy, or Critical Observer, Friday, June 7, 1776, page 158 f.

2. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 147.

the "Improving Club" were, "Whether is Agriculture or Commerce most beneficial to Britain?" and "Whether is Ambition or Luxury the most destructive vice?" When the Scots Town and Country Magazine changed its title, the "Improving Club" also decided to do the same. The reason for this, as it is announced in the new publication, is not without interest:-¹

To the Publisher of the Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine.

Sir,

Our club being met, and the members having taken their respective seats, it was moved by Sir Harry, that "as the name and mode of carrying on your publication is to be entirely altered, and in some manner a new work, it would be proper to make some alteration with respect to the Club, and that instead of the Improving Club, our former title, we should stile it the Improving Society, as the word Club was quite common, and used indiscriminately; and that, instead of the President transmitting our lucubrations to be, we ought to appoint a Clerk solely for that purpose, and allow each of the members in rotation to be President," which motion was unanimously agreed to.

There was one more type of fictitious society to appear before the century ended. This type, which was intended as a burlesque of the democratical political associations which were organized in Scotland after 1789, was a part of the widespread political activity which was stimulated by the events of the French Revolution. The first fictitious society of a political nature to appear in a Scottish publication, to my knowledge, was that contained in the following article which appeared in the Glasgow Courier for the 15th² December, 1791:-

-
1. The Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scot's Town and Country Intelligencer, Wednesday, September 1, 1779, page 9. In my chapter on definitions, page 8, I have already drawn the reader's attention to the fact that the term "society" was considered to be a more fitting description of serious organizations than the term "club".
 2. The Glasgow Courier, Vol. 1, #46, Thursday, December 15, 1791.

To the Editor of the Glasgow Courier

Sir,

I am a member of a small society of neighbours who club for your paper, and, three times a-week, over a social pot of porter, meet together to discuss the passing occurrences of the times. Like other societies, we are somewhat divided in our political principles, and have had many warm debates upon the French Revolution. But, however much we may differ in our ideas of Government, we all profess one object - the general good.

I have, for one, all along reprobated the innovating improvements of the French Legislators, and have attempted to maintain against my friend Rollo, the Calender, that Kings, even the most despotic, can have no interest separate from the interest of the people.

Upon my arrival this evening at the Club, I found they had just read the Empress of Russia's letter to the French Princes, and which Mr. Rollo, with a significant look, put into my hands. I must confess, Sir, it puzzled me not a little, and I shall be much obliged to you, or to some of your well informed Correspondents, to assist me in answering the following question, propounded to me by the Calender.

Does the Empress of all the Russias, mean by the common cause of Kings, equal rights inherent in all kings, totally independent of, and no ways derived from the community they govern? - In her zeal to serve this common cause, does she mean to make the king of France abjure his late acceptance of the French Constitution, and join the Royal League? - and, should this kingly combination against the French prove successful, is there no risk, after having obliged that nation to take back their old government (my friend Rollo would never suffer it to be called a Constitution) that they may have a retrospect to our innovations of 1688, and attempt to restore that happy government, enjoyed in this country, under the benign influence of James the Second?

A few hints from you on these points, to enable me to meet friend Rollo upon Thursday evening, will confer a lasting obligation on your admirer.

Peter Pigtail. Duke of York's Tap Room.

The nature these pretended political associations quickly became satirical as the cause of democracy, through the excesses

1. The hints were never given by the Editor as requested.

of the French revolutionists, lost the sympathies of the majority of people in Great Britain. In the next year, we find that the same newspaper carried accounts which were intended to discredit the agitation for constitutional reform:-

REFORM! REFORM!

At a very full and respectable meeting of the Members of the Antient and Honourable fraternity of Sturdy Beggars, held in Mr. Pinchman's, Jamfray's Close, Goosedubs, to consider the present state of the Nation, and devise means for a thorough REFORM. Robert Randy, President, in the chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to and voted with loud applauses,

Resolved,

- 1st. That the present meeting, do form itself into a permanent Society for obtaining by all means constitutional or otherwise, a more equal representation in Parliament, from which our order has been hitherto most unjustly excluded.
- 2dly. To adopt, as the principle of our conduct, that all men are equal, and that all things should be equally free, and accessible to all men. There can no reason in Nature be assigned why one man should have more of the good things of this world than another: we strenuously deny that industry entitles any man to more than his idle fellowmen chuse to allow him to keep.
- 3dly. As by the present system we are deprived of any share of property, for no better reason than that we prefer going idle to working, so we are resolved for the future, at least after the Reformation is established, that we will no more condescend to ask any thing, but will take it, as if it were our own. Neither will we consider any reform complete that does not embrace this most essential article.
- 4thly. That no man can be reckoned free, unless he be free from the necessity of working: and that independency can only consist in freedom from such intolerable slavery as manual labour, to which we have the most rooted aversion.
- 5thly. As a consequence of the above, we resolve that all jails, Bridewells, Workhouses, etc., are grievances

which ought forthwith to be abolished and demolished, as infringing on the liberty of our Order, in particular, who otherwise would enjoy the most ample, and enviable state of independence.

6thly. As we find by experience, that the laws hitherto in force have been directed against us, and our independency, We resolve, that there shall in future be no laws, to which we do not give our express consent.

Resolved, lastly, That we never will depart from the object of this Society, till a National Convention be called, wherein we shall be fully represented; nor till all the industrious rich become beggars, or all the beggars rich, which we hold to be the true way of reducing all mankind to their natural state of equality.

These resolutions to be inserted in all the newspapers that will take them in, and printed and distributed for the good of the nation.

Robert Randy, President,
Will Stump, Vice-President,
Duddy Jock, Secretary.

These resolutions were instantly followed with the contribution of Six-pence from each of the Members to the amount of four score and seven sixpences. Further contributions, and subscriptions or Marks, will be received at the place of Meeting every evening from six o'clock till midnight, by

Duddy Jock.

This rather feeble attempt at strong satire was the first of a series.¹ Whatever their effect was on the readers of the eighteenth century, today, considering all that has occurred in the interval, they sound like a voice from another world.

Political clubs, however, had previously appeared in Scotland's periodicals, but in a different form. Throughout the eighteenth century, parliamentary privilege was understood to mean that a speech

1. For more in the same vein, see The Glasgow Courier, Vol. II, #198, Tuesday, December 4, 1792; also Ibid, #199, Thursday, December 6, 1792.

which was given in the House of Commons or the House of Lords could not be published without a violation of the independence of the member who had been responsible for it. A very common device which publishers employed to circumvent this restriction was the pretext that the debates they reported had been held in a "Political Club". The members of such clubs were given pseudonyms, and with each volume of the magazine, or once a year, a key was supplied to subscribers to aid them in identifying the "members" of the supposed "Club". The Scots Magazine, which began publication in 1739, adopted the practice which had already been¹ established for some years by the London Magazine:-

Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Political Club.

Introduction

'To alter where there is a probability of excelling, is without dispute commendable; but to change where there is no view of amendment, betrays such a fondness for a writer's own manner as often provokes contempt than procures esteem. 'Tis true, indeed, the love of novelty, so prevalent among the generality of readers, hath given many authors upon altering the method observed by others, in instances where a humble imitation would have been far preferable on every account. This we have considered: The charms of variety are not to be overlook'd; but where an alteration would seem rather the effect of a desire to vary, than of a hope to improve, in such cases 'tis prudence to follow the methods which are most approv'd. Therefore, as we are now to enter on the Political Debates, we shall conform to the plan of the London Magazine, which hath given universal satisfaction, and interest, from the best authorities, such speeches as are made upon affairs of moment, with all the expedition that the nature of a monthly publication will permit, and do all in our power to preserve every argument free from interruption of another subject till the first be finished, endeavouring at the same time to omit no speech worthy of the public attention.

We must here beg leave to inform such of our readers as may be acquainted with the plan we propose to follow, that for several

1. Scots Magazine, July, 1739, pages 289-290.

years the principal speeches made in Parliament were regularly published. But this, it seems, gave offence which made it unsafe to publish them any longer. However, the want of parliamentary debates is effectually supplied by a political Club at London, whose Secretary transmits regularly to the publisher of the London Magazine extracts from their journal, which, ever since their first appearance, have been received with general approbation. -- The Secretary, in his first letter, says, That the Club consists of young Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergymen, and eminent Merchants; who meet at fix'd times, and at every meeting appoint some question in Politicks, Religion, Law, Trade, or Philosophy, to be fully debated in the next; that as every one of them hath it in his view to be some time or other a member of the legislature, therefore it was agreed to speak and argue as much as possible in the stile and manner of parliament; that every grand question which should come before either house, should be fairly debated in their Club; and that as they had provided themselves with compleat sets of the journals of each house, they would spare no cost in obtaining likewise copies of all estimates, accounts, and other material papers. Instead of the real names of the speakers, which for some secret reason he chuses to conceal, he makes use of those of the ancient Greeks and Romans; but at the same time cautions the reader not to imagine that there is any affinity betwixt the character of the person who speaks, and that of the Grecian or Roman whose name he makes him assume, for by appropriating of such names he hath no intention to give characters, but only to distinguish the several speakers. -- In these debates our readers will find the old saying verified, That great men often fall into the same thoughts: for some Gentlemen that have heard questions debated in Parliament, have observed, upon reading the journal of this learned Club, that not only the arguments, but even the words also happened to be very near the same....¹

The "Political Club", as thus described, was a constant feature in the Scots Magazine until 1757,² but at that time, for some unknown reason, it was dropped until 1770 when it was once more resumed in the same form.

1. "Political affairs were discussed (in the Scots Magazine) by a Political Club, the members of which masqueraded under classical names, although a key given with each volume showed they were meant to stand for the high politicians and publicists of the time." (Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 72.)
2. During 1747, The British Magazine, or the London and Edinburgh Intelligencer carried, concurrently with the Scots Magazine, a "Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Political Club."

In June, 1770, the Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement began¹ to report the debates of a "Political Club". By October of the same year, the device was made a little more elaborate by the adoption of the new disguise of a Robinhood Society.² The members of this new fictitious society went under their own names, although names were never given in full. Thus, in the issue for December 20, 1770, we find a report of "The speech of E_____d B_____ke, who spoke next to L_____ B_____n in the Robinhood Society."³ The same report contains a section devoted to "Proceedings in the Upper Room of the Robinhood Society", and another to the "Proceedings in the Lower Room of the Robinhood Society." These rooms, of course, corresponded to the upper and lower houses of Parliament. In addition to these detailed reports, the same magazine carried, in its column devoted to news from London, occasional news items of doings in the Robinhood Society. On 6th December, 1770, for example, we learn that "Yesterday a motion was made by Mr. D____l, in the lower room of the Robinhood, to lay before the house copies of all intelligence received of the state of the Spanish land and sea forces in the Spanish West-Indies, since the 1st of June 1759, to Sept. last inclusive, which passed in the negative, 94 against 43."⁴ It is perhaps needless to point out

-
1. The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 8, Thursday, June 21, 1770, page 353 f.
 2. Ibid, Vol. 10, October 4, 1770; also December 6, page 310; December 13, page 341; December 20, pages 374-376; and December 27, page 408.
 3. Ibid, Vol. 10, December 20, 1770, page 374.
 4. Ibid, Vol. 10, December 6, 1770, page 317; see also the issue of December 13, 1770, page 349.

that this fictitious organization had no immediate connection with the Robinhood Society which was active in Edinburgh in the year 1773.¹

The reader has now been acquainted with two classes of the first type of fictitious clubs and societies. There remains one more class of this type which I intend to treat briefly. This class of fictitious organizations is akin to the societies and clubs which I have described previously in that it was frequently employed to lend prestige to the efforts of an individual or a group of individuals who were preparing a publication. During the eighteenth century, as I have pointed out² elsewhere, it was always more respectable to advance shared opinions and ideas than individual ones. The ideas and opinions of a society had always the benefit of a certain assumption of superior validity. We find, therefore, that it was a common pretext employed by a publisher to offer his publications as being performed by "a Society of Gentlemen." Often, indeed, the "society" was, in a loose sense of the word, genuine enough, though at the present day we would describe it more accurately as the "staff" or the company of the publication. In the strict sense, however, these "societies" may be said to be fictitious. None of them were true publishing societies in the sense that mean when we speak of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries, or even one of the many book-publishing societies which were organized at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These publications were, in no sense, the proceedings or transactions of a true society.

1. See Chapter 5, page 226.

2. See page 443, above.

I shall begin with a simple example of the use of a fictitious society to lend prestige to a publication. In 1771, the first edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences¹ appeared in three volumes quarto. Although William Smellie had been responsible for "the compilement and entire conducting" of the publication, it was announced as being "by a society of gentlemen in Scotland." According to his biographer, Smellie was not only responsible for "the plan," but "all the principal articles of that Dictionary of Arts, were written or compiled by Mr. Smellie; and he prepared and superintended the whole of that work, for which he only got 200 pounds from its projectors."² Such virtuosity would be extremely difficult to accept in any age, and in the eighteenth century in particular, a claim that such a publication had been the work of one man would certainly not have increased its reputation.

The second example of fictitious publishing societies is a bit more complicated than the first. The reader will recall, from previous chapters,³ that there was a society in Edinburgh, the Medical Society which later became the Philosophical Society, whose members produced and published two series of medical and scientific papers. The first series appeared under the title of Medical Essays and Observations

1. The Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, "by a society of gentlemen in Scotland, printed in Edinburgh for A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, and sold by Colin Macfarquhar at his printing office in Nicolson Street," was completed in 1771 in 3 vols. 4to. containing 2,760 pages, and 160 copperplates engraved by Andrew Bell.

2. Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 361.

3. See Chapter 3, page 84, and Chapter 4, page 99.

Revised and Published by a Society in Edinburgh; and the second series appeared under the title of Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary, Read before a Society in Edinburgh. In 1771, when a new publication was undertaken under the title of Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, therefore, it was an established custom for such publications to be the work of a society. In keeping with the tradition, it was announced on the title page of the new publication that it was "by a Society in Edinburgh."¹ This "society", however, never existed, despite those who have claimed the contrary,² except in the sense that several different individuals may have made contributions to the publication. In this sense every magazine would be the project of a "society." But only one man was really responsible for the conduct of the Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, and that was Andrew Duncan, an Edinburgh physician. The motive for the pretext that the work was the combined efforts of "a society of gentlemen" should be, by now, fairly obvious. The remarkable thing is that Duncan dropped the pretext as quickly as he did. When the seventh

1. Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, By a Society in Edinburgh. London: Printed for J. Murray; Kincaid & Creech, and W. Drummond, Edinburgh; and T. Ewing, Dublin, 1773.
2. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 122 f., implies that the Medical and Philosophical Commentaries were a continuation of the Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary, which I take to mean that in his mind the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh was responsible for the new publication. But there is no indication, outside Couper's own book, that the Philosophical Society was in any way concerned with the publication of the Medical and Philosophical Commentaries. See Wemyss: A Record of the Edinburgh Harveian Society, page 3; Bower: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 288; (Stroud): History of The (Royal) Medical Society of Edinburgh, page liv f.; and, above all, Duncan's own statement, quoted on page 472, below, all of which point to him as the sole projector and conductor of the work.

volume appeared in 1780, the title page announced that the work had been "collected and published by Andrew Duncan."¹ In his preface to the volume, Duncan gave the following explanation of this change in the title of the publication:²

After six volumes of the Edinburgh Medical Commentaries have been already published, and when it is intended that they shall still be continued on the same plan as formerly, it may seem strange that any change should have been made on the Title of the Work. It cannot be alleged, that any circumstance has occurred which renders this change necessary. But it will perhaps be reckoned a sufficient apology for this alteration, that I have been induced to it by reasons with which I reckon it needless to trouble the reader. - Every one must be sensible, that the merit of the work can neither be increased nor diminished by the Title.³

When, however, I am now to take upon myself, what has hitherto been presented to the Public as the work of a Society; it may naturally be presumed, that the abilities of an individual will be found unequal to the undertaking. To remove this apprehension, I may observe, that the compilation of this work will not hereafter be more dependant on my exertions than it has already been....

In a restricted sense, however, the organizations that lay behind certain publications may be said to have been in the nature of a society, if we take the word to mean, as men in the eighteenth century sometimes did, a company or incorporation. The Edinburgh Magazine and Review, for example, was the production of a society in this restricted sense. The members of the company which produced the magazine have been identified by Couper in his work on the Edinburgh periodical press as follows:-

-
1. Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, Vol. 7, 1780, title-page.
 2. Ibid, Preface, page 11.
 3. By his very sensitiveness on this point, Duncan clearly shows an awareness of the disadvantages he will have to face in acknowledging the work as his own. The only change made in the title was

The "Society of Gentlemen" responsible for the appearance of the Magazine was composed of certain persons all residents in Edinburgh, - its publisher William Creech, Alexander Kincaid, who reached the Lord Provost's chair of Edinburgh, William Smellie, Dr. Gilbert Stuart, and William Kerr, who occupied a Government position as surveyor of the General Post Office. Kerr was confessedly added to the group so that he "might give every assistance consistent with the duties and privileges of his official situation," and his interest was to end at any time with his death or demission from office. The financial arrangements of the combination were that, of six shares, one was to go to the publisher and Kincaid together, one each to Kerr, Stuart, and Smellie, in such proportions as might be determined between them.

2

Gilbert Stuart, who acted as editor, was continually getting the printer of the magazine into difficulties. In one incident, David Hume appears in his usual kindly and beneficent role. The incident is well and fairly described by Smellie, a member of the group, in

3

his short biography of Hume:-

When the periodical paper called the Edinburgh Magazine and Review was publishing in the year 1773, the late Rev. Dr. Henry, then one of the ministers of this city, a most laborious clergyman, as well as a facetious and good-humoured companion, brought forth the second volume of his History of Great Britain. Dr. Henry, it was said, applied, in the most earnest manner, to Mr. Hume to give an account of that volume in the Review, to which Mr. Hume gave his assent. When the manuscript appeared, after reading it, the praises appeared to be so high-strained, that the Reviewers, in my presence, agreed that Mr. Hume's account was meant as a burlesque upon the author. It was, therefore, committed to the farther consideration of one of

the substitution of his own name for that of a fictitious society.

1. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 130 f. A long account of the publication is contained in Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 392 f. The title-page of the Magazine when it first appeared read as follows:- The Edinburgh Magazine and Review, conducted by a Society of Gentlemen. No. 1, Oct. 1773, Printed for W. Creech, successor to Mr. Kincaid and W. Smellie, printer, Anchor Close.
2. Craig: Scottish Periodical Press, page 31.
3. Smellie: Literary and Characteristical Lives, page 203.

their number, who still continued to be of the same opinion, and, accordingly, raised the encomiums so high, that no person could mistake the supposed meaning of the writer. The types of the Manuscript, in this last form, were composed, and proof-sheets sent to Mr. Hume for his perusal and corrections. To the astonishment of the Reviewers, Mr. Hume wrote them an angry letter, complaining, in the highest terms, of the freedoms they had used with his manuscript, and declaring that in the account he had given of Dr. Henry's History, he was perfectly sincere. Upon which, Mr. Hume's review was cancelled, and another was written by a member of the Society, condemning the book in terms perhaps too severe; so that Mr. Hume's intention of serving Dr. Henry was not only abortive, but produced an opposite effect.

But this was not the only time that the Society, no doubt inspired by Stuart, had behaved badly. One of the great advantages of the type of organization they had adopted was that it afforded each individual member the protection of anonymity. A complaint from one of the victims of the caustic editorial commentary of the Edinburgh Magazine¹ and Review makes this very clear.-

To the Author of the Edinburgh Magazine and Review.

You complain that I attribute the compositions of one person to another. I know none of your gentlemen behind the curtain, and so cannot distinguish their productions. I think nothing is more simple than that each should take what praise or blame is his own, and not meddle with what belongs to others. But it is very unlucky for one to receive a stab in the dark from a society of nameless gentlemen, as one knows not whom to complain of, whether Mr. Publisher, Mr. Printer, or Mr. Reviewer, or the whole Dunciad in conjunction. When a charge is made against one gentleman, another gentleman, who was not charged, nor called, stands forth to defend him, and to deny the fact. This is mighty convenient, but not quite fair. If a society of gentlemen, indicted at the Old Bailey, were to be allowed to witnesses and compurgators for one another, in this manner, it would no doubt save a great many lives.

1. Smellie was having a row with Charles Nisbet. Nisbet had made a speech before the General Assembly that the publication had taken strong exception to. This reply of Nisbet's appeared in the Caledonian Mercury for 30th August, 1775. See also Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 470 f.

A number of publications followed the example of the Edinburgh Magazine and Review which, though it was forced to cease publication in 1776 because of the discredit that Gilbert Stuart's literary performances had brought upon it, was relatively successful during a period when few publications had very long runs. In 1777, for example, the New Scots Spy or Critical Observer announced that "a society of Young¹ Gentlemen" had taken over the sole charge of its publication:-

To our Correspondents,

A Society of Young Gentlemen by whom the New Scots Spy has been conducted since its commencement, having now assumed the sole concern in that work, and agreed to pay Mr. Williamson, a certain sum weekly, for the printing and delivering of it, they humbly presume to request the favour of the public, to assist them in carrying on a publication which, beside its obvious utility to youth in particular, they shall endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to render worthy the countenance of the public at large. Actuated by no selfish motive, their chief aim is to procure a sufficient number of subscribers to defray the expence attending its publication; an expence which the sale of the Spy has hitherto been far short of refunding to the publisher. They have, therefore, only farther to intimate, that by the interest of the public alone, the Scots Spy must stand and flourish; or fall never more to arise.

After this, in 1780, the Edinburgh Evening Post appeared under the conduct of "a society of independent gentlemen", one of whom was said to be James Tytler.²

Toward the end of the century, two religious publications were under the management of "societies". The first, the Christian Magazine, or, Evangelical Repository,³ commenced publication in 1796.

-
1. The New Scots Spy or, Critical Observer, Vol. 1, No. 10, Friday October 31, 1777, page 120.
 2. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 159.
 3. The Christain Magazine, or, Evangelical Repository. A periodical Monthly Publication by a Society of Ministers. Edinburgh: Printed for the Editors, by Murray and Cochrane, 1796.

The story of its origin is interesting as it reveals the fact that the "society of Ministers" which was responsible for its direction was,¹ in actual fact, an editorial staff:-

Among some brethren who were assisting in the dispensation of the Lord's Supper at Craignailing in 1796, the evangelical Magazine, then the only religious publication (periodical), having become the subject of conversation, a project of setting on foot a work of the same description in Scotland was conceived, discussed and resolved upon, provided proper and steady coadjutors could be found. With Mr. Culbertson, the Rev. Messrs, Black of Denfermline, one of the projectors, Peddie, McCrie, and More of Edinburgh, Whytock of Walkieth, and others were associated as editors.

The second religious publication, the Edinburgh Clerical Review, or Weekly Report of the Different Sermons Preached every Sunday by the Established Clergy of Edinburgh,² is interesting for the rather quixotic notion it entertained of making a digest of all the sermons preached in Edinburgh each week. The first issue of the Clerical Review³ set forth its scope as follows:-

At this interesting period, when immorality and infidelity are raging with the greatest violence; when the constitution of our country and the religion of our fathers are assailed by a nation in arms, it is the incumbent duty of every well-wisher to the Government of Britain, and to the Church of Scotland to stand forward in the defence of those establishments which ought to be esteemed the happiest and the best interests of society.

To defend and to publish the doctrines of true Christianity, to inculcate the duties of morality, without which civil establishments cannot exist, is peculiarly the duty of the

1. (Duncan): Memoir of Robert Culbertson, prefixed to his Lectures on the Book of Revelation, I, page x. (quoted in Couper: Edin. Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 231 f.)
2. The Edinburgh Clerical Review, or Weekly Report of the different Sermons Preached every Sunday by the Established Clergy of Edinburgh. Drawn up by a Society of Gentlemen. Edinburgh: Printed by C. Stewart. No. 1, Sunday, 10th November, 1799.
3. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 256 f.

clergy, and, numerous as the men of abilities are among that body, we may safely presume to consider the clergy as a small indeed, but as a select number of the most learned and pious of their order.

Possessed with this idea, it has occurred to a few individuals, who disdain all connection with sects or parties, that a fair and impartial report of the various sermons delivered weekly in the metropolis of Scotland, with a few critical remarks and candid observations, under the title of the Edinburgh Clerical Review, would be acceptable and useful to the public in general, as well as to the inhabitants of the city.

In his Edinburgh Periodical Press, W. J. Couper, himself a clergyman, gives an interesting and detailed account of this unusual publication which, because of its anecdotal interest and general excellence, I have included. Couper's account reads as follows:-¹

Such child-like faith in the ministers of Edinburgh probably deserved their flattered acquiescence, but "the clergy announced their unanimous disapprobation of the design." What was worse, the reporters who had been engaged took fright at the opposition, and deserted their employers. The unhappy projectors had to fill their first issue with digests of discourses for which they had been forced "to trust to the memory of persons not much accustomed to the exercise of that faculty." No wonder that a correspondent wrote remonstrating at the insertion of at least two "rhapsodies of precious nonsense." The Review attempted to cover all the churches of Edinburgh and Leith, but its career was short: only two numbers were published, which, under the circumstances, was not to be wondered at....

No hint is given as to who the original projectors of the Review were. They are described in their own pages as a "Society of Gentlemen," and as having "no connection with sects and parties." It is perhaps the latter phrase that has given rise to a curious legend in which the names of Thomas Campbell, the poet, Dr. John Leyden and Robert Anderson, the critic and journalist, are associated with the paper. The story is that Campbell had fallen into the company of certain "young men of infidel principles who, vain enough to imagine that they could undermine religious institutions and truth, started a publication which they named the Clerical Review." (Note: Life and

1. Couper: Edinburgh Periodical Press, Vol. 2, page 257 f.

Poems of Dr. John Leyden, edited by Thomas Brown, page xlviii.) Campbell, the story goes on, allowed the names of Leyden and Anderson to be associated with the enterprise at "the very time they were exerting themselves to crush it." The result was a breach between Campbell and Leyden that never was healed, although the former tried to explain away the part he had played. To all appearance the story is apocryphal. The prospectus expressly declares the purpose of the Review to be the opposite of that mentioned, and it is impossible to regard the little publication as an elaborate piece of sinister satire.

The second general type of imaginative clubs is now to be considered. This type consists of those clubs which have appeared in works of fiction with an eighteenth-century Scottish setting. The greatest master of the genre was, of course, the "Wizard of the North," Sir Walter Scott, and while it may be objected that Scott was primarily a nineteenth-century writer, it is a fact that most of his fictional treatment of clubs was a reflection of the social atmosphere of the previous century. In addition to his many other achievements, Scott was, whether he intended to be or not, an admirable social historian of eighteenth-century Scotland.

In Waverly, his first successful novel, Sir Walter gave his¹ readers a brief but lively picture of the Bautherwhillery Club:-

Miss Bradwardine was but seventeen; yet, at the last races of the county town of _____, upon her health being proposed among a round of beauties, the Laird of Bumperquaigh, permanent toast-master and croupier of the Bautherwhillery Club, not only said more to the pledge in a pint bumper of Bordeaux, but, ere pouring forth the libation, denominated the divinity to whom it was dedicated, 'the Rose of Tully-Veolan;' upon which festive occasion, three cheers were given by all the sitting members of that respectable society, whose throats the wine had left capable of such exertion. Nay, I am well assured, that the sleeping partners of the company snorted applause, and that although strong bumpers and weak brains had consigned two or three to the floor, yet even these, fallen as they were from

1. Scott: Waverly, page 59 f.

their high estate, and weltering - I will carry the parody no further - uttered divers inarticulate sounds, intimating their assent to the motion.

Such unanimous applause could not be extorted but by acknowledged merit; and Rose Bradwardine not only deserved it, but also the approbation of much more rational persons than the Bautherwhillery Club could have mustered, even before the discussion of the first magnum.

The custom of drinking "toasts" to a reigning beauty had a foundation in fact and in fancy. The Tatler (No. 24, by Steele) gives the following account of the origin and of the conventions of the practice:-

To know what a Toast is in the country gives as much perplexity as she herself does in town: and indeed the learned differ very much upon the original of this word, and the acceptation of it among the moderns: however, it is by all agreed to have a joyous and chearful import. A toast, in a cold morning, heightened by nutmeg, and sweetened with sugar, has for many ages been given to our rural dispensers of justice, before they entered upon causes, and has been of great and politic use to take off the severity of their sentences; but has, indeed been remarkable for one ill effect, that it inclines those who use it immoderately to speak Latin; to the admiration rather than information of an audience. This application of a toast makes it very obvious, that the word may, without a metaphor, be understood as an apt name for a thing which raises us in the most sovereign degree, but many of the wits of the last age will assert, that the word, in its present sense, was known among them in their youth, and had its rise from an accident at the town of Bath, in the reign of King Charles the Second.

It happened that, on a public day, a celebrated Beauty of those times was in the Cross Bath, and one of the crowd of her admirers took a glass of the water in which the fair one stood, and drank her health to the company. There was in the place a gay fellow half fuddled, who offered to jump in, and swore, though he liked not the liquor, he would have the toast. He was opposed in his resolution; yet this whim gave foundation to the present honour which is done to the lady we mention in our liquors; who has ever since been called a Toast.

In Edinburgh, the "Catch Club" vied with the Bautherwhillery Club in their earnest application of the custom. Until the practice was made ridiculous by the poetic exertions of Henry Erskine, the "Catch

Club" carried on in the following manner:-

There was an idiotic custom in force at this time connected with public balls (but more especially with the concerts of the St. Cecilia Musical Society), which was most distasteful to Mr. Erskine, at all time a temperate, and even an abstemious man, as it doubtless was to every one possessed of a vestige of sense. When the ladies had been escorted home... it was usual for the gentlemen to return to the supper-room, where one of them would drink a toast to the name of the lady whom he professed to admire, emptying his glass. Thus challenged, another gentleman would name another lady, and empty a glass in her honour. The first lunatic replied with another glass to his lady, followed in the like manner by the second, with another to his, and so on -- till one of the combatants fell unconscious on the floor. Other couples followed in like manner. This vile custom was called "Saving the Ladies;" why, is not quite obvious. It was alleged that some of the fair sex actually took pleasure in hearing the next morning of the prowess of their hard-headed champions in these wretched competitions.

One of the earliest of Mr. Erskine's poetical pieces is a copy of verses, written in allusion to this custom, and printed in the Edinburgh Weekly Magazine of May 1771. The satire of the piece is directed at his musical friends of the St. Cecilia Society, who had the reputation of being proficient in this practice...²

The account of the Bautherwhillery Club in Waverly was followed, in Scott's next novel, Guy Mannering, by the invention of a club which must be counted as not only the author's greatest success in this way, but also as a classic of its kind. The club to which I refer is the one in which Colonel Mannering found Counsellor "Paulus Pleydell" playing at "High Jinks" one Saturday evening in Clerihugh's Tavern in Writer's Court in Edinburgh. After setting Colonel Mannering down at the doorway of Clerihugh's, Scott proceeds with his narrative as follows:-

Mannering looked round him, and could hardly conceive how a gentleman of a liberal profession, and good society, should

1. Fergusson: Henry Erskine, page 116 f. For other accounts of the Catch Club, see Thomson's edition of Mackenzie's Anecdotes and Egotisms, page xviii; and the Scotsman, Thursday, Sept. 13, 1883.

2. "Verses on The St. Cecilia Catch Club, and the truly heroic custom of Saving the Ladies, intended to be spoken by Mrs. B___r on the stage, entering with a Lady's Concert Ticket in her hand."

choose such a scene for social indulgence. Besides the miserable entrance, the house itself seemed paltry and half ruinous. The passage in which they stood had a window to the close, which admitted a little light during the daytime, and a villanous compound of smells at all times but more especially towards evening. Corresponding to this window was a borrowed light on the other side of the passage, looking into the kitchen, which had no direct communication with the free air, but received in the daytime, at second-hand, such straggling and obscure light as found its way from the lane through the window opposite. At present, the interior of the kitchen was visible by its own high fires - a sort of Pandemonium, where men and women, half undressed, were busied in baking, broiling, roasting oysters, and preparing devils on the gridiron: the mistress of the place, with her shoes slipshod, and her hair straggling like that of Megaera from under a round-eared cap, toiling, scolding, receiving orders, giving them, and obeying them all at once, seemed the presiding enchantress of that gloomy and fiery region.

Loud and repeated bursts of laughter, from different quarters of the house, proved that her labours were acceptable, and not unrewarded by a generous public. With some difficulty a waiter was prevailed upon to show Colonel Mannering and Dinmont the room where their friend, learned in the law, held his hebdomadal carousals. The scene which it exhibited, and particularly the attitude of the counsellor himself, the principal figure therein, struck his two clients with amazement.

Mr. Pleydell was a lively, sharp-looking gentleman, with a professional shrewdness in his eye, and, generally speaking, a professional formality in his manners. But this, like his three-tailed wig and black coat, he could slip off on a Saturday evening, when surrounded by a party of jolly companions, and disposed for what he called his altitudes. On the present occasion, the revel had lasted since four o'clock, and at length, under the direction of a venerable compotator who had shared the sports and festivity of three generations, the frolicsome company had begun to practise the ancient and now forgotten pastime of High Jinks. This game was played in several different ways. Most frequently, the dice were thrown by the company, and those upon whom the lot fell were obliged to assume and maintain, for a time, a certain fictitious character, or to repeat a certain number of fescennine verses in a particular order. If they departed from the characters assigned, or if their memory proved treacherous in the repetition, they incurred forfeits, which were either compounded for by swallowing an additional bumper, or by paying a small sum towards the reckoning. At this sport the jovial company were closely engaged, when Mannering entered the room.

Mr. Counsellor Pleydell, such as we have described him, was enthroned, as a monarch, in an elbow-chair placed on the dining-

table, his scratch wig on one side, his head crowned by a bottle-slider, his eye leering with an expression betwixt fun and the effects of wine, while his court around him resounded with such cranbo scraps of verse as these: ¹

Where is Gerunto now? and what's become of him?
Gerunto's drowned because he could not swim, etc.,
etc.

Like the true antiquarian he was, Scott has added the following note ²
to his playful account of the club of barristers:-

Convivial Habits of the Scottish bar.

The account given by Mr. Pleydell, of his sitting down in the midst of a revel to draw an appeal case, was taken from a story told me by an aged gentleman, of the elder President Dundas of Arniston (father of the younger President, and of Lord Melville). It had been thought very desirable, while that distinguished lawyer was King's counsel, that his assistance should be obtained in drawing an appeal case, which, as occasion for such writings then rarely occurred, was held to be a matter of great nicety. The Solicitor employed for the appellant, attended by my informant acting as his clerk, went to the Lord Advocate's chambers in the Fishmarket Close, as I think. It was Saturday at noon, the Court was just dismissed, the Lord Advocate had changed his dress and booted himself, and his servant and horses were at the foot of the close to carry him to Arniston. It was scarcely possible to get him to listen to a word respecting business. The wily agent, however, on pretence of asking one or two questions, which would not detain him half an hour, drew his Lordship, who was no less an eminent bon vivant than a lawyer of unequalled talent, to take a whet at a celebrated tavern, when the learned counsel became gradually involved in a spirited discussion of the law points of the case. At length it occurred to him, that he might as well ride to Arniston in the cool of the evening. The horses were directed to be put in the stable, but not to be unsaddled. Dinner was ordered, the law was laid aside for a time, and the bottle circulated very freely. At nine o'clock at night, after he had been honouring Bacchus for so many hours, the Lord Advocate ordered his horses to be unsaddled, - paper, pen, and ink were brought - he began to dictate the appeal case - and continued his task till four o'clock the next morning. By next day's post, the solicitor sent the case to London, a chef-d'oeuvre of its kind, and in which, my informant assured me, it was not necessary

1. Scott: Guy Mannering, page 312 f.

2. Ibid, page 355 f.

on revisal to correct five words. I am not, therefore, conscious of having overstepped accuracy in describing the manner in which Scottish lawyers of the old time occasionally united the worship of Bacchus with that of Themis. My informant was Alexander Keith, Esq., grandfather to my friend, the present Sir Alexander Keith, of Ravelstone, and apprentice at the time to the writer who conducted the cause.

One detail of the famous episode, however, has long been a troublesome question. Despite his care in most of the essential details of his sketch, Scott has not made it absolutely clear who he had in mind when he gave voice and motion to Counsellor Pleydell. Or, rather, it would be more correct to say that though Scott did state who one of his models was, his statement has given little satisfaction. In his Journal, Sir Walter records that he had seen "at Luscar... the painting by Raeburn, of my old friend Adam Rolland, Esq., who was in the external circumstances, but not in frolic or fancy, my prototype for Paul Pleydell."¹ The model for the qualities of "frolic and fancy" has since been supplied by those who have assumed that Andrew Crosbie, an Edinburgh Advocate, was in his mind when Scott drew the word portrait of "Paulus Pleydell."²

It is interesting to compare Ramsay of Ochtertyre's description of Crosbie with that of his supposed fictional counterpart. Ramsay³ writes of Crosbie:-

he was all along a member of the "Feast of Tabernacles";

1. Scott: Journal, page 751.

2. This assumption has, indeed, been general. See, for a few of the writers who have aired this view, Greig: Letters of David Hume, Vol. 1, page 410, note; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 374; Boswell: Life of Johnson, Vol. 2, page 376, note #1; Rae: Life of Adam Smith, page 137; and Ferguson: Life of Erskine, page 138.

3. Ramsay of Ochtertyre: Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Century, Vol. 1, page 454. For the "Feast of Tabernacles", see Chapter 5, page 245 f. *W. S. Crockett, The Sir Walter Scott Encyclopedia, 3rd ed., 1932*

and from every account he was one of the great ornaments of that society, both in its frolicsome and serious moments, when any point of taste and literature was to be canvassed. When a little warmed by liquor, nothing could be more joyous and interesting than his discourse, there being a happy mixture of wit and humour and information.

Although there have been at least two serious attempts to resolve¹ this problem, the mystery still remains. Was Crosbie actually the original for "Pleydell"? The only safe attitude one can adopt is probably that of a mild scepticism. There was no real reason for Scott to have disguised the fact that he had used Andrew Crosbie, if indeed he had done so, any more than there was for him to designate Adam Rolland as a model even though he had not employed him as such. Certainly Crosbie and "Pleydell" were very like, but there were, no doubt, other lawyers who were approximations of them both. It would be delightful to know for certain, but one must reconcile oneself to the fact that there are certain literary mysteries which shall probably never be solved.

In The Antiquary, Scott's use of clubs is pervasive rather than incidental. The Antiquary himself is an "unworthy member" of "various antiquarian societies,"² and as the scene is set in the period in which agitation for constitutional reform was rife, and when a war with the French was imminent, the reader is treated with the invention of two political clubs, one of them of a type which we have seen examples³ of previously in this chapter. One of the clubs was for the right,

1. Miller: Andrew Crosbie, (Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 24th Oct., 1919.) Juridical Review, Vol. 34, 1922, page 154.

2. Scott: The Antiquary, page 36.

3. See page 462 f., above.

"The Royal True Blues," and the other for the left, "the soi-disant¹ friends of the People."

The antiquarian theme was continued in The Monastery where, in a long introductory passage, we learn that the manuscript which formed the basis for the story was given by a Benedictine friar to one Cuthbert Clutterbuck, an amateur antiquary. Clutterbuck's account of his receipt of the manuscript is typical of the whole episode:-²

After several attempts to peruse the quires of paper thus singularly conferred on me, in which I was interrupted by the most inexplicable fits of yawning, I at length, in a sort of despair, communicated them to our village club, from whom they found a more favourable reception than the unlucky conformation of my nerves had been able to afford them. They unanimously pronounced the work to be exceedingly good, and assured me I would be guilty of the greatest possible injury to our flourishing village, if I should suppress what threw such an interesting and radiant light upon the history of the ancient Monastery of Saint Mary.

In St. Ronan's Well, Scott returned to the convivial theme with the mildly amusing invention of two bibbing clubs. The first of these, which met in the old inn at St. Ronan's was the Chirupping Club which "contrived to drink twopenny, qualified with brandy or whiskey, at least twice or thrice a week."³ The old Inn was also the scene of "High Jinks" of a different sort when it was visited by the young rake-hells of a number of clubs in Edinburgh.⁴ Scott describes the antics of the latter as follows:-

These were members of the Helter Skelter Club, or the Wildfire Club, and other associations formed for the express purpose of getting rid of care and sobriety. Such dashers occasioned many a racket in Meg's house, and many a bourrasque in Meg's temper.

1. Scott: The Antiquary, page 46.

2. Scott: The Monastery, page 11.

3. Scott: St. Ronan's Well, page 9.

4. Ibid, page 12.

Various were the arts of flattery and violence by which they endeavoured to get supplies of liquor, when Meg's conscience told her they had had too much already. Sometimes they failed, as when the croupier of the Melter Skelter got himself scalded with mulled wine, in an unsuccessful attempt to coax this formidable virago by a salute; and the excellent president of the Wildfire received a broken head from the keys of the cellar, as he endeavoured to possess himself of these emblems of authority. ...

Still later in the novel, when the old Inn of St. Ronan's is temporarily cast into discredit by the erection of a new hotel at the wells, the fashionable folk who visited the new resort organized still another drinking fraternity which went under the name of the Claret Club.

Scott must also be credited, in his Letters on Demonology, with the invention of a story which involved the visit of a supposed dead man to his club.¹ This story, as John Gibson Lockhart has pointed out, may have had some connection with an episode which occurred in St. Ronan's

²
Well:-

Another specimen of his (Scott's) talent for representation which struck me forcibly, about the same time, was his telling the story (related in his Letters on Demonology) of a dying man who, in a state of delirium, while his nurse was absent, left his room, appeared at a club of which he was president, and was taken for his own ghost. In relating this not very likely story, he described with his deep and lingering tones, and with gestures and looks suited to each part of the action, the sick man, deadly pale, and with vacant eyes, walking into the club-room; the silence and consternation of the club; the supposed spectre moving to the head of the table; giving a ghastly salutation to the company; raising a glass towards his lips; stiffly turning his head from side to side, as if pledging the several members; his departure just at midnight; and the breathless conference of the club, as they recovered themselves from this strange visit. St. Ronan's Well was published soon after the telling of this story, and I have no doubt that Sir Walter had it in his mind in writing one of the last scenes of that novel.

-
1. Scott: Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, page 383.
 2. Lockhart: Life of Scott, Vol. 7, page 183.
 3. The scene to which Lockhart refers is that in which the ghost of

John Galt, an able and worthy contemporary of Sir Walter Scott, was also responsible for the invention of a number of clubs in his novels. Galt, however, was a more self-conscious social historian than his fellow novelist. In his Ayrshire Legatees, for example, one of his characters, "Andrew Pringle, Esq.," goes to considerable trouble to record the Scottish opinion of London's "literary fraternities", and to compare them, implicitly and unfavourably, with those of the Scottish capital.¹ And in his best-written novel, The Entail, Galt employs a fictitious club as a part of the plot mechanism. His use of this imaginary organization, the Yarn Club, may be best illustrated by the following court-room scene:-²

The next witness was Mr. Mordecai Saxhere, preses and founder of that renowned focus of sosherie the Yarn Club, which held its periodical libations of the vintage of the colonies in the buxom Widow Sheid's tavern, in Sour-Milk John's Land, a stately pile that still lifts its lofty head in the Trongate. He was an elderly, trim, smooth, Quaker-faced gentleman, dressed in drab, with spacious buckram-lined skirts that came round his knees, giving to the general outline of his figure the appearance of a cone supported on legs in white worsted hose. He wore a highly-powdered horsehair wig, with a long queue, buckles at the knees and in his shoes, presenting, in the collective attributes of his dress and appearance, a respect-bespeaking epitome of competency, good eating, honesty, and self-conceit. He was one of several gentlemen whom the long-forecasting George had carried with him to Grippy on those occasions when he was desirous to provide witnesses, to be available when the era should arrive that had now some to pass....

It was not deemed expedient to cross-question this witness; and another was called, a celebrated professor of mathematics in the university, the founder and preses of a club called the "Anderston Summer Saturday's." The scientific attainments and abstract genius of this distinguished person were undisputed;

Lord Mtherington was reported as having been seen in the ball-room. Scott: St. Ronan's Well, page 460.

1. Galt: Ayrshire Legatees, page 227. "Andrew Pringle, Esq., to the Rev. Charles Snodgrass, from London." For a similar comparison, see Chapter 10, page 566 f.
2. Galt: The Entail, page 206 f.

But his simplicity of character and absence of mind no less remarkable.

It is interesting to note that the second club mentioned in this scene, the "Anderston Summer Saturdays", was as real as the other was fictitious. The mathematician, and founder of the Club, of whom Galt speaks, was Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Glasgow. I have given a short account of Simson's Club in Chapter ¹ nine.

A worthy successor of Sir Walter Scott, and John Galt, in Scottish fiction, was Robert Louis Stevenson. In his Weir of Hermiston, Stevenson, who was writing of the later part of the eighteenth century, makes a liberal use of imaginative and actual clubs. The plot at one point turns upon a speech which young Archie Weir made in protest to the ² judicial brutalities of his father. The speech was made in the Speculative Society of which Stevenson, like his hero, was an active ³ and enthusiastic member. In the same novel, Stevenson has invented a Hell-Fire Club, and the Crossmichael Club which Frank Innes attended ⁴ the night before his death.

The third and final type of fictitious clubs and societies consists of those which have been the deliberate invention of those who, though

1. See page 550, below.

2. For his Judge Hermiston, Stevenson used as a model that fine old reactionary and tool of the land-owning classes, Robert MacQueen, alias Lord Braxfield. (Stevenson: Works, "Weir of Hermiston", page 296, note.)

3. "O, I do think the Spec. is about the best thing in Edinburgh." Stevenson quoted in the History of the Speculative Society, page 1. (See also, Stevenson: Works, "Weir of Hermiston," page 154 f.)

4. Stevenson: Works, "Weir of Hermiston," page 131 and 259.

they have pretended to factual accuracy, have used such inventions to embellish an anecdote, to "improve" a historical narrative, or to quicken a bit of antiquarian lore.

For the first example of the type, there is an anecdote concerning Samuel Johnson's visit to Scotland. The reader will note that the point and impact have been considerably heightened through the circumstance¹ that the incident took place in a "fraternity of Sages":-

When Dr. J_____n made the tour of Scotland last summer, he was admitted speciali gratia into the fraternity of sages, known at Edinburgh by the title of the Physico-Theological-Society. - The conversation, as usual, turned on a very abstruse point of metaphysics, viz. "Whether man would accept of existence by choice?" or "Whether the Deity, to carry on the present system of things must not compel him into existence by necessity?" After many hours spent in the most subtle and acute refinements of logic, the whole company turned their eyes on the doctor, and requested to hear his sentiments. His answer was couched in his usual cynical strain: "For my part, I think the solution of the question ultimately depends on the single circumstance of considering under what denomination of country the supposed subject for existence was to be discriminated. If he was to be an Englishman, he would exist by choice; if a Scotsman - by necessity."

As the "Physico-Theological-Society" has appeared in no other place other than in this pleasant little story, I have assumed that it was fictitious. Such an assumption on my part, of course, does not preclude the possibility of the organization actually having been in existence at some time or other. In my opinion, however, which the reader is free to reject or accept as it pleases him, there is little likelihood of such a society coming to light.

The great difficulty in dealing with these anecdotal-historical-

1. The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Thursday, March 24, 1774, page 400.

antiquarian inventions is that all the evidence that one can muster against them must, by the very nature of their origin, be negative. It is impossible to bring positive proof against a club or society which has existed only in a man's imagination. All I can possibly say of a particular organization which I suspect to have a fictitious origin is that it is mentioned nowhere else. This principle will be fully appreciated when a more extensive example of literary invention is examined.

When most people think about eighteenth-century Edinburgh clubs, they almost invariably think of them in the terms in which they have been described in the very pleasant antiquarian works of Robert Chambers.¹ This is not only because Chambers's works have had a very wide distribution, with numerous editions, but also because nearly every article or book that has touched on the subject of Edinburgh clubs since his time has been coloured by Chambers's writing.² All this, of course, speaks well for Chambers's work, and, in my opinion, he fully deserves his popular success. At the same time, however, I feel obliged to warn the reader that his lively account of the clubs which were active during the period which I have attempted to cover,

1. Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 218 f.

2. A few of the articles and books which have accepted Chambers's picture of eighteenth-century Edinburgh club life are the following:- Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 3, Chapter XLI, page 122 f.; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, passim; Aempt: Convivial Caledonia, passim; Lafond: L'Ecosse Jadis et Aujourd'hui, page 45 f.; Angellier: Life of Burns, Part I, page 245 f.; The Scotsman, November 24, 1906, "Old Edinburgh Clubs." The Weekly Scotsman, Saturday, February 10, 1934, "Old Edinburgh Clubs." The Evening Dispatch, Thursday, March 23, 1939, "Old Edinburgh Clubs," and Thursday, October 12, 1950, "Queer Edinburgh Clubs of Olden Days".

contains several organizations which were the product of his own imagination. As I have already said, however, this is not going to be easy to prove, no matter how deeply the suspicion is rooted in my mind.

But this should certainly not be taken to mean that all of Chambers's work is suspect. On the contrary, his description of the
Cape Club,¹ the Spendthrift Club,² the Boar Club,³ the Industrious
Company,⁴ the Horn Order,⁵ and the New Club,⁶ are first rate. It was inevitable, however, that his eager search after the bizarre should

1. Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 249. (See also my account of the Cape Club beginning on page 531, below.)
2. Ibid, Vol. 2, page 253.
3. Ibid, Vol. 2, page 254 f. (For other accounts of the Boar Club, see The Trifler, No. 6, Saturday, January 23, 1796, pages 33-36; as well as all those who have followed Chambers in their accounts, (see note #2 on the previous page). As incredible as it seems, there was apparently a club of "grunTERS" who met in a "sty", and who leveled fines upon one another for breaches of the strict rules of their piggery. It could be argued, and convincingly enough too, that if there was such a club as this in Edinburgh, that anything was possible. My counter to this is that with so many extravagant clubs to choose from, it was all the more reprehensible of Chambers to invent them for the occasion of his book) (See the following page for a continuation of this argument.)
4. Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 261. This may be an invention. It appears in no other work than those which are indebted to Chambers for their information.
5. Ibid, Vol. 2, page 265. (For other accounts, independent of Chambers, see Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, page 500, 1792. For another account from Chambers, see his Domestic Annals of Scotland, Vol. 3, page 482.)
6. Ibid, Vol. 2, pages 260-261. (For other accounts of the New Club, see the history of the Club by Harry Cockburn, also his pamphlet entitled The New Club from its Foundation.)

have occasionally led him to commit excesses. Of the Wig Club, for example, he writes, "The Wig Club was remarkable for eating Souters Clods, and drinking the old Scotch ale called two-penny, upon which, we have heard old people say, it was possible to get most satisfactorily drunk for a groat."¹ An author of a later day, Harry Cockburn, remarks, rather laconically, that "none of these facts, however, are alluded to in the MS. Minutes of the club which are still extant."² And when it comes to swallowing such fanciful organizations as the Skull Club, "the members of which drank their liquor out of a human skull"; the Dirty Club, "none of whom durst appear with clean linen"; and the Black Wigs, "all of whom wore black wigs"; my imagination, for one, rebels. It is all too engaging and too pat. It runs too glibly from Chambers's practiced pen, and I find it impossible to take him seriously. While I would be the last to deny that the Scottish convivial clubs of the day were idiosyncratic in the extreme, I do not believe in these clubs. One of the remarkable things about Chambers's account is that he overlooks so many well-known clubs, all of which were, each in its own way, fully as interesting as those which he appears to have invented. Why did he not give an account of such clubs as the Beggar's Bennison,² the Right and Wrong Club,³ the Sons of Solomon,⁴ the Feast of Tabernacles,⁵ the Chrochallan Fencibles,⁶

-
1. Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 264.
 2. Fergusson: Life of Arskine, page 147 f.; The Scotsman, Sept. 13, 1883.
 3. Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, (From the Book of the Old Edin Club) p. 166.
 4. Mackenzie: Anecdotes and Egotisms, page 35.
 5. See my account of this organization on page 245, Chapter 5.
 6. There are a number of good accounts of this organization which

the Mirror Club,¹ the Griskin Club,² the Diversorium and the Poker Clubs,³ the Gowks,⁴ and the Congress Hall Club.⁵ Surely there was a place in the Traditions of Edinburgh for these organizations?

As a final word, however, I must confess that my responsibilities in this matter have caused me more than a little uneasiness. Except for the imperative obligation to speak the truth as I see it, I would be extremely reluctant, with all my imperfections upon me, to make accusations which must inevitably detract from Chambers's well-deserved literary reputation. I have never lost sight of the fact that Chambers's account of the clubs which I have suspected of being mere fictions, if it is true, is all the more important and valuable for being the only one of its kind, and for containing information known to no other author, and available in no other place. Whether it is immaculately accurate or not, however, Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh is one of the most readable books of its kind that has ever been written.

was made immortal through being a favourite resort of Robert Burns. For a list of these works, see my account of the Club on page 540, Chapter 9.

1. See my account of this organization beginning on page 244, Chapter 5.
2. See Chapter 9, page 509 f.
3. See Chapter 9, page 516 f.
4. Harry Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, (From the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club), page 168 f.
5. The MS. Minutes of the convivial club are in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library. See also a typescript entitled Some Notes on the Minutes of the Congress Hall Club, by Charles B. Boog Watson, (also in the Edinburgh Room) and the Scotsman, Friday, March 23, 1935, "Congress Hall - An Old Edinburgh Club."

CHAPTER NINE.

NON-LITERARY CLUBS AND SOCIETIES
OF LITERARY INTEREST.

To a generation which has only partly recovered from the stifling rigours of "respectability", one of the most engaging qualities of Scottish social life during the eighteenth century is its lack of the rigid rules of decorum that we still take very much for granted. But it would be a mistake to overemphasize the importance of the one element of the eighteenth-century way of life which has, above all others, received the most attention. If it is accepted in the right spirit, however, the word "conviviality" may be taken as a symbol for that quality of effervescent participation in the social frolic which is a genuine mark of the eighteenth-century social demeanor.¹ It is important to bear in mind that

-
- 1: As an example of the attitude one should not adopt, I will quote one of James Boswell's least forgiving biographers:- "Any advance in social philosophy, accompanied by a wider diffusion of common sense and a more scientific denial of compromise, tends to make the drunkard less amusing. A defence of drunkenness, quite possible and acceptable in the time of Queen Elizabeth, could now only be imagined by some irresponsibly sentimental person trying to palliate his own weakness by a spurious anacronistic exuberance. On the other hand, to crush the poor tippler with pious invective or to shrink from his bloated monstrosity with anger or scorn would be equally unphilosophic and unscientific. We have to regard him as a particularly awkward case, a somewhat elaborate and lamentable piece of wreckage; we are not to meet him with foolish laughter or with indignation." (Vulliamy: James Boswell, page 119.) Compare John Gibson Lockhart, who really knew what he was talking about. "The rule of judging as we would be judged, although an excellent one, surely, in the main, must be taken, I think, with a great sequela of exceptions. It is the besetting temptation of many natures, and honest natures too, to

'Compound for sins they are inclined to,

By damning those they have no mind to.'

And perhaps few sins are more 'damned' upon this principle than those of the bottle. You might as well attempt to make a deaf man comprehend

conviviality in the eighteenth-century sense has become largely a lost art in Scotland and the rest of Great Britain since the revolution of manners which took place in the early nineteenth century.¹

The convivial basis of Scottish social life, and the part played by clubs and societies, has been described many times.² It is not

the excellencies of Mozart, as to convince some people that it is a venial thing to be fond of an extra glass of claret. Many even of those who take great pleasure in society, can never be brought to understand why people should get tipsy when they meet together round a table. The delight which they experience in company, is purely rational - derived from nothing but the animated and invigorated collision of contending and sporting intellects. They have wit and wisdom for their share, and they have little reason to complain; but what do they know about the full, hearty, glorious swing of jollity? How can they ever sympathise with the misty felicity of a man singing

'It is the moon - I ken her horn!'

I think no man should be allowed to say anything about Burns, who has not joined in this chorus, although timber-tuned, and sat till daylight although married." (Lockhart: Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, Vol. 1, page 115, Letter No. XI.)

1. This revolution of manners has been described in detail by Cockburn: Memorial of his Time, passim; by Lockhart: Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, Vol. 1, page 102, Letter No. X; by Sir Walter Scott in his prose works, particularly his review of Henry Mackenzie's Life of Home. It is impossible to read very far into the literature of the transitional period of, say, 1790 to 1830, without realizing that a great social change was taking place. Manners softened, excessive drinking gradually became frowned upon, and then a social disgrace; and this after an age in which heavy drinking was regarded as a virtue, (See Dean Ramsay: Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, passim.)
2. Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 237 f.; Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 122 f., (Chapter XLI.); Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, (from The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3), and also his "Taverns and Clubs of Old Edinburgh," (from the Scots Magazine, December, 1935.); Fergusson: Life of Erskine, page 131; Lafond: L'Ecosse Jadis et Aujourd'hui, page 45; Malcolm: "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh," (from the S. M. T. Magazine); Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, passim; Carlyle: Autobiography, page

my intention, therefore, to attempt to treat convivial organizations as such, but rather to mention those which, through their associations with literary subjects, or men of letters, have a literary interest.

In my opinion, it would be a serious oversight in this thesis to leave unconsidered such clubs as the Poker Club, the Cape Club, and the Club of Chrochallan Fencibles; the first of which was the meeting place of nearly all the Edinburgh literati, the second a club in which Robert Fergusson played a considerable role, and the third made immortal by the presence in its festivities of the Ayrshire ploughman-poet, Robert Burns.

Aside from their literary and biographical interest, the convivial clubs of Scottish men of letters of the eighteenth century are interesting because of the effect they had, in the words of Alexander Carlyle, "of making the literati "less captious and pedantic than they were elsewhere."¹ Carlyle goes on to explain that the conversation at convivial meetings frequently "improved the members more by free conversation than the speeches in the (Select) Society."²

311; Memoirs of Dr. Pennecuik of New-Hall, page 25 f.; Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, passim; Social Life in Scotland, passim; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, passim; and Wilson: Memoirs of Edinburgh in the Olden Time, passim. These works are some of the more important ones. As the list would be almost endless, were I to complete it here, I refer the reader to my bibliography which, while not exhaustive, should afford him a good selection to choose from.

1. Carlyle: Autobiography, page 312. Carlyle himself was an inveterate clubber. He was a member of the Poker, the Diversorium, and even had his own parish club at Inveresk. (Autobiography, page 300.)
2. Carlyle: Autobiography, page 312. Carlyle's statement has been repeated several times:- Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 371; Mackenzie: Life of John Home, page 23.

In the actual propagation of literature, convivial clubs and societies played an occasional part. It is this aspect of their literary associations which brings us to a consideration of the first example of a non-literary club which has a literary interest. In the following extract, the historian of the Royal Company of Archers turns¹ his attention to the literature of that institution:-

"Clubs" (using the word in its more ancient sense, and without reference to its modern and comparatively artificial meaning) which promote, directly or indirectly, social intercourse among their members, possess in general a literature of their own. This usually consists of poems either in honour of the society or of individual members thereof, and of songs which may have contributed to the festivity of their social gatherings. The Royal Company of Archers is no exception to this rule, though it was formed, it is true, for the promotion of archery, and its convivial meetings were, at least at first, merely secondary objects of consideration.

The literature of the Royal Company of Archers is of considerable interest because of the fact that Allan Ramsay and Dr. Archibald Pitcairn made contributions to it. In 1726, a small volume of Poems in English and Latin, on the Archers and Royal Company of Archers,² "by several Hands", was published in Edinburgh. "The 'hands' are those of Allan Ramsay, who is too well known to require more than mention; Dr. Pitcairn, the eminent medical man and scholar, better known, perhaps, in his own day as 'Pitcairn the Atheist,' and whose

1. Paul: History of the Royal Company of Archers, page 272.

2. Poems in English and Latin, on the Archers, and Royal-Company of Archers, By several hands. Edinburgh: Printed in the year 1726. This volume is often bound with Pitcairn's Poems which were published in 1727 under the title of Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcarnii, Guilielmi Scot a Thirlstane, Thomae Aincadii et aliorum. Edinburgh, 1727.

character is so delightfully depicted in Chambers's 'Traditions';
Thomas Kincaid, who is styled in the preface to 'Pitcairn's Poems',
'vir supra sortem doctus, et literis humanioribus bene instructus';
Joseph Ker, Professor of Greek in Aberdeen University; and Scott of
Thirlestane."² Allan Ramsay, who contributed the best English pieces
in the volume, was made "an honorary member of, and appointed bard to,
the Royal Company of Archers"³ in July 13, 1724.

The Royal Company of Archers, which was founded in 1676, has
had a long and interesting history.⁴ Beginning as an association
for "encouraging and exercising archery,"⁵ the Archers gradually
transformed themselves into the "Royal Body Guard for Scotland."⁶
Although their claim as being the King's bodyguard was not officially
recognized until 1822, when George IV visited Scotland, it was the avowed
purpose of the Company as early as 1768, when St. Clair of Roslin, in
a speech to the members, declared the nature of the Royal Company
of Archers to be as follows:-⁷

-
1. See note #2 on the preceding page.
 2. Paul: History of the Royal Company of Archers, page 280.
 3. Burns Martin; Allan Ramsay, page 32.
 4. For the history of the Company see Paul: History of the Royal Company of Archers. A new history was published in 1952, but I have not seen it.
 5. Arnot: History of Edinburgh, 357.
 6. Duncan: The Story of the Edinburgh Burns Relics, page 51.
 7. Ibid, page 51.

By signing the Laws of the Royal Company of Scottish Archers you engage to be faithful to your King and Country; for we are not a private company as some people imagine, but constituted by Royal Charter, his Majesty's First Regiment of Guard in Scotland; and, if the King should ever come to Edinburgh, it is our duty to take charge of his Royal Person from Inchbunkland Brae on the East to Crammond Bridge on the West.

Much later in the eighteenth century, the Royal Company of Archers conferred upon Robert Burns the distinction of membership in their organization. This recognition of Burns's merit has been described¹ as "perhaps the highest honour in appreciation of his genius." It will be recalled by those who are acquainted with the career of the Ayrshire poet, that he had previously received the recognition and support of another non-literary association of a kindred type to the Royal Company of Archers. This association, the Caledonian Hunt, responded generously to an appeal for subscriptions to a new edition of Burns's Poems, and, in consequence, received the following dedication² from their poetic countryman:-

To the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

A Scottish bard, proud of the name, and whose highest ambition is to sing in his country's service - where shall he so properly look for patronage as to the illustrious names of his native land, those who bear the honours and inherit the virtues of

1. Duncan: The Story of the Edinburgh Burns Relics, page 50.
2. Chambers: Works of Burns, Vol. 2, page 71, with what appears to be his usual inaccuracy, claims that the Caledonian Hunt not only subscribed for 100 copies of the new edition, but paid a guinea each (actual price 5 shillings) which was much in excess of the price of the volumes. Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, pages 312-313, quotes the following minute from the records of the Hunt:- "A motion being made by the Earl of Glencairn, and seconded by Sir John Whitefoord, in favour of Mr. Burns of Ayrshire, who had dedicated the new edition of his poems to the Caledonian Hunt: The meeting were of opinion that in consideration of his superior merit, as

their ancestors? The poetic genius of my country found me, as the prophetic bard Elijah did Elisha, at the plough, and threw her inspiring mantle over me. She bade me sing the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of my native soil, in my native tongue. I tuned my wild, artless notes, as she inspired. She whispered me to come to this ancient metropolis of Caledonia, and lay my songs under your honoured protection. I now obey her dictates.

Though much indebted to your goodness, I do not approach you, my Lords and Gentlemen, in the usual style of dedication, to thank you for past favours; that path is so hackneyed by prostituted learning, that honest rusticity is ashamed of it. Nor do I present this address with the venal soul of a servile author, looking for a continuation of those favours - I was bred to the plough, and am independent. I come to claim the common Scottish name with you, my illustrious countrymen, and to tell the world that I glory in the title. I come to congratulate my country that the blood of her ancient heroes still runs uncontaminated, and that from your courage, knowledge, and public spirit, she may expect protection, wealth, and liberty. In the last place, I come to proffer my warmest wishes to the great fountain of honour, the Monarch of the Universe, for your welfare and happiness.

When you go forth to waken the echoes, in the ancient and favourite amusement of your forefathers, may pleasure ever be of your party, and may social joy await your return! When harassed in courts or camps with the justlings of bad men and bad measures, may the honest consciousness of injured worth attend your return to your native seats - and may domestic happiness, with a smiling welcome, meet you at your gates! May corruption shrink at your kindling indignant glance; and may tyranny in the ruler, and licentiousness in the people, equally find you an inexorable foe! I have the honour to be, with the sincerest gratitude and highest respect, my Lords and Gentlemen, your most devoted, humble servant,

Robert Burns

Edinburgh, 4th April, 1787.

well as of the compliment paid to them that Mr. Hagart (the Secretary) should direct to subscribe for one hundred copys in their name, for which he should pay to Mr. Burns Twenty-five Pounds upon the Publications of his Book. - 10th January, 1787." Rogers has pointed out that the date of the dedication was nearly three months subsequent to the Hunt's act of subscribing. The sum paid in excess of the actual cost of the volumes, therefore, was only paid after the minute quoted above, if at all. The Hunt's gesture, however, was generous in that at the time of the subscription it had only 60 members. (Rogers: Social Life, Vol. 2, page 313.) For other account of the Caledonian Hunt see Arnot: History of Edinburgh, page 363 f; Angellier: Life of Burns, Part I, pages 232 and 466 ff.

Allan Ramsay, whom we have just seen as the bard of the Royal Company of Archers, was also involved in two non-literary clubs of a different kind. The first of these was The Worthies, "a club to which Ramsay is said to have belonged and to which he read his pastoral ¹ (The Gentle Shepherd) during the period of composition." The following account of the Club contains all that is known concerning its organization ² and membership, as well as Ramsay's connection with it:-

One of the most distinguished of those (clubs) then about Edinburgh, from the great respectability of its members, was called by the citizens THE WORTHY CLUB. Tempted by the convenient walk, the neighbourhood of the links for playing at golf before dinner, the sea air, and fish, they met weekly at Leith, in a tavern kept by a Mrs. Forbes, from the north of Scotland, whose other recommendations seem to have been heightened by her name, the place of her birth near Inverness, and the beauty of her person. Among its members were Duncan Forbes of Culloden, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session; Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, who, with Duncan Forbes, was intrusted by Government with the charge of Scotland; John Forbes of New-Hall, Esquire, depute to his cousin Duncan Forbes when Lord Advocate; William Aikman of Cairny, Esquire, portrait-painter, and cousin to Mr. Forbes of New-Hall; John Stuart of Innerneithy, Esquire; Captain David Kennedy of Craig; and a physician in Edinburgh of the name of Clerk, whose likeness is among those in Surgeon's Hall done by Sir John Median. The portraits of the members were painted in oil, by Mr. Aikman, and, with his own, and that of their beautiful landlady Mrs. Forbes, were hung in the room where they met. During summer, they frequently drew together at New-Hall; where, on his annual visits to Sir David and Mr. Forbes, the Scottish Theocritus had numerous opportunities of hearing the conversations, suggestions, advices, and criticisms, of THE WORTHY CLUB, individually and collectively, of Baron Sir John Clerk, Mr. Forbes's cousin and neighbour, and of Dr. Pennecuik,, his predecessor, neighbour, and associate as an author, who was so intimately and personally acquainted with all the hardships and adventures, during the usurpation, of the persecuted royalists, heightened by the embellishments of circulation, and ready for Ramsay's adoption for the plot of his play., "While I passed my infancy," says Mr. Tytler, in his edition of King James's Poems, "at New-Hall, near Pentland hills, where the scenes of this pastoral

1. Burns Martin: Allan Ramsay, page 78, note.

2. Memoirs of Dr. Pennecuik of New-Hall, page 25 f.

poem were laid, the seat of Mr. Forbes, and the resort of many of the literati at that time, I well remember to have heard Ramsay recite, as his own production, different scenes of the Gentle Shepherd, particularly the two first, before it was printed. The above note was shewn to Sir James Clerk, and had his approbation." Sir James was nephew to Mr. William Clerk, advocate, Dr. Pennecuik's correspondent; and son to Baron Sir John Clerk, Mr. Forbes's cousin, whom Ramsay celebrates, and condoles with, on the death of his oldest son, and to whose second son, Mr. Tytler's witness, before he became Sir James, an Epistle in verse appears in his works. In New-Hall House, the apartment in which Duncan Forbes of Culloden used to sleep when Lord Advocate, is still named The Advocate's Room. In the parlour called The Club Room, where they used to enjoy each other's company, and assist Ramsay with their advice, are now to be seen the portraits, including himself and their landlady, painted by Mr. Aikman; and on the ceiling, a painting of the poet reciting to The WORTHY CLUB, "before it was printed," the "scenes of the Gentle Shepherd, or the History of Sir William Worthy;" whose name seems to have been suggested by that of the Club, his history by Dr. Pennecuik, and his character by that of Sir David Forbes, at whose place "the scenes of this pastoral poem were laid," under the auspices of these his patrons and preceptors. That the story communicated to Ramsay was wrought into a drama by the counsel of his literary distinguished friends, "the literati," is acknowledged by himself. The following note is subjoined, in his quarto of 1728, to the first scene of the Comedy: "This first scene is the only piece in this volume that was printed in the first; having carried the pastoral the length of five acts, at the desire of some persons of distinction, I was obliged to print this prelude scene with the rest."

From all these concurring and satisfactory evidences in support of the fact, the tradition preserved in the Preface to "Ancient Scottish Poems, 1786," that "Alexander Pennecuik gave Allan Ramsay the plot of the Gentle Shepherd," seems to be confirmed as perfectly correct; for, what else is the history of "Sir William Worthy," who had fought under Montrose for Charles I. against the parliament and Covenanters, had "fled" with the Marquis to "save his head," and afterwards recovered his estate with the restoration of Charles II. by Monk, but that of one "of the most eminent of the gentry," referred to in "The Description of Tweeddale," by him and Allan Ramsay's patron Mr. Forbes, communicated by Dr. Pennecuik to his brother humorous and pastoral poet Ramsay, for the ground work of a comedy?¹

1. Despite all this ingenious argument, Ramsay's biographer (the most recent, and, as far as I know, the only reasonably accurate one) pours cold water on the story. See Burns Martin: Allan Ramsay, page 78.

Some time before the publication of the quarto edition of his poems in 1721, Allan Ramsay wrote a poem entitled "A Petition to the Whinbush Club". In an explanatory note, Ramsay gave some indication of the nature of the organization to which he desired to be admitted a member:-¹

This club consists of Clydesdaleshire gentlemen, who frequently meet at a diverting hour, and keep up a good understanding amongst themselves over a friendly bottle. And, from a charitable principle, easily collect into their treasurer's box a small fund which has many a time relieved the distresses of indigent persons of that shire.

Because of his Clydesdale origin, Ramsay was eligible for membership in the Club, and it has been assumed that his petition was granted, and that he was admitted.² It is interesting to note that the Whinbush as described by Ramsay must have been an early example of those charitable organizations, usually referred to as "Friendly Societies", which became³ very popular and very numerous during the second half of the century.

The next order of clubs, those usually designated as "Hell-Fire", or "Atheistical", I have chosen for brief mention not because of their particular literary or biographical interest, but because of the more general considerations of social and historical matter of fact. There is a general quality of unreality pervading the accounts of these Scottish clubs that have come down to us which presents an obstacle to our belief. That associations of grown men were actually formed for the purposes of⁴ enjoying "free talk", "ribald verses", and singing "blasphemous songs",

1. Chalmers: Works of Allan Ramsay, Vol. 1, page 177, note #1.

2. Burns Martin: Allan Ramsay, page 32.

3. There is an account of these organizations in Ferguson: The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare, but it is rather skimpy. At present I am working on a general survey of Scottish Clubs and Societies which I intend shall include a detailed survey of the societies and their activities.

4. Graham: Social Life in Scotland, page 93.

seems, to me at least, a bit too adolescent to be true. But this is obviously due to certain limitations on my part, and because such behaviour runs contrary to my profound belief in the social decorum and social responsibility which is one of the least objectionable traditions in Western-European bourgeois culture. For the reasons I have just given, it was inevitable that my strongest impulse should be to reject the idea that reasonable men would be deliberately wicked in a situation as self-conscious as that which group participation creates. But the literary remains of the Beggar's Bennison,¹ unfortunately, are of such a nature that the existence of Hell-Fire Clubs, of which the Bennison was an example, is established beyond all reasonable doubt.

The first mention of the activities of a Hell-Fire Club comes from Robert Wodrow, who, in the following extract, indicts Dr. Archibald² Pitcairn for his deliberate flaunting of the Scriptures:-

1. The two examples of the Club's publications which I have seen were of such a downright pornographic nature as to make my soul shrink, and though I have never considered myself as being oversensitive in such matters, my opinion on that score is now under revision.
2. Wodrow: Analecta, Vol. 1, page 322, year 1711. Wodrow, who had a sort of grudging fondness for Pitcairn which was as ardent as that held by many Presbyterians of his time for the Devil, mentioned him a number of times in his Analecta. The following passage is typical:- "This moneth (October, 1713), at the close of it, I think, Archibald Pitcairn dyed at Edinburgh. He was the most celebrated physitian in Scotland this age, and certainly a man of great skill, and nou of long experience. I am told he still spent three or four hours evry morning in reading and writing: and some people talk, that evry day he did read a portion of the Scripture, though it seems, he made ill use of it. He was a professed Deist, and by many alledged to be ane Atheist, though he has frequently professed his belife at a God, and said he could not deny a Providence. However, he was a great mocker at religion, and ridiculer of it. He kept noe publick society for worship, (and) on the Sabbath had his sett meetings for ridiculing of the Scripture and sermons. He was a good humanist, and very curiouse in his choice of books and library. He gote a vast income, but spent it upon drinking, and was twice drunk every day. He was a sort of a poet."

I hear that profanity, and especially uncleanness, never raged soe much at Glasgou as it does among their souldiers. And at Edinburgh, I hear Dr. Pitcairn and several others doe meet very regularly evry Lord's Day, and read the Scripture, in order to lampoon and ridicule it. It's such wickedness, that though we had noe outward evidences, might make us apprehensive of some heavy rodd.

Wodrow, who was extremely sensitive to the wickedness of this world, saw, as the expression is, a Hell-Fire Club under every bush.

1

Two more accounts give further details of these incredible organizations:-

1725 - We have sad accounts of some secret Atheisticall Clubs in or about Edinburgh, and I fear they may be too true. They meet, they say, very secretly; and unles they could be proven and prosecut, it may be less speaking of them there be it may be the better. I am told they had their rise from the Hell-Fire Club about two or three years ago at London, the Secretary of which I am well informed was a Scotsman, and came down not long since to Edinburgh; and I doubt not propagat their vile wickedness. He fell into melancholy, as it was called, but probably horror of conscience and dispair, and at lenth turned, as was said, madd, but no body was allowd to see him, and physitians prescribed bathing for him, and he dyed mad at the the first bathing. So the enemies of God are like to perish. The Lord pity us! Wickedness is come to a terrible height!

1727 - Mr. Walter Steuart, lately come from Holland, informes me at some more length of that vile club at Leyden which is notticed before. It was last winter. They consisted of a feu, six or seven, profligat rakes, and mostly Scots, Irish, and Brittish. The two main supporters of it wer, one Blair, a student of Medicine, I knou not if graduat, son, I think, to one Patrick Blair, a Scotsman; and Hamiltoun, a parson's son in Ireland, both of them imprudently profane. Before my informer left Holland, or soon after, they both, and some other other members, absconded and left the place, in great debt. They endeavoured to bring in young gentlmen to their Club. They wer fearfull quarrelsom, Hamiltoun especially. They began their meetings with the villany of pressing all present to drink their own damnation, and the Devil's health. O tempora! O mores!

It has been stated, and, as I believe, with some truth, that the Hell-Fire Clubs were "reactionary to the rigid austerity prescribed

by the societies for the reformation of manners, which arose at the time of the Union."¹ Although, as I have said, it is difficult to believe, one recourse of the minority which was certain to resent and abhor the dictatorship of the godly, was the formation of clubs for the deliberate propagation of vice as a means of flaunting the tyrannous authority of the church and its elders. It is a sad commentary on human nature, but to those who yearn for a return to the religious uprightness of a former day, if there be any such, the organized viciousness of the Hell-Fire Clubs should act as a retarding influence on their admiration and enthusiasm, for it appears that we cannot have the one without the other.² Of course it has been argued, contrary to the view just stated, that it was the moral laxity and rough manners of the period which made the stern repression by the Kirk necessary. The problem which is posed by such contradictory interpretations will probably never be resolved, but no matter which side of the argument one takes, it is important to recognize that the first half of the eighteenth century, which is sometimes regarded as a period of almost saintly religious purity, was a time when the extremes of morality and viciousness existed side by side.

The tradition of the Hell-Fire Clubs long persisted in the popular imagination of Scotland, and one, at least, of the organizations of that peculiar order, the Beggar's Bennison, was in existence until well past the end of the century, although in a vastly different form.³

1. Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 409. See also page 15 f., Chapter 2, above.

2. Watson: The Scot of the 18th Century, passim.

3. For accounts of the Beggar's Bennison, some of which vary greatly, see Fergusson: Life of Erskine, page 147 f; Rogers: Social Life

The persistence of this tradition is reflected in a letter written by David Hume in his last days in which he refers, affectionately, to the members of the Ruffian Club as the "Belzebubians".¹ We are told by Henry Mackenzie, in his Life of John Home,² that the members of this rake-hell association "were men whose hearts were milder than their manners, and their principles more correct than their habits life." "All these Belzebubians," wrote Hume of his friend Edmonstone, who³ had shed tears over him in his last illness, "have not hearts of iron." Perhaps it was the real terror of Hume's religious scepticism which had frightened the fear of God into them, at least it is an amusing and not too improbable thought.

The next club to be treated, the Revolution Club, had, like the Royal Company of Archers before it, its own club literature. As a reflection of the political event which gave rise to it, the purpose of the Club's annual meetings was to keep fresh the memory of the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. As a part of their activities, the Revolution Club collected and published, some thirteen years after the first⁴ evidence of its existence in 1748, a Collection of Loyal Songs.⁵

in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 409 f.; The Scotsman, September 13, 1883; and Chapter 8, page

1. David Hume to John Home, 6th August, 1776 (Hume died on the 25th), (Mackenzie: Life of Home, page 64-65.)
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Scots Magazine, November 1748, page 562. This notice reads as if the Club had been newly formed shortly before, but this is by no means certain.
5. A Collection of Loyal Songs: For the use of the Revolution Club, Edinburgh: printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid, 1761.

The Club's publication, which is interesting in itself, contains several rather obscure notes regarding Jacobite clubs of the period. These notes are appended to the first two stanzas of a song which was intended to be sung in Revolution Club meetings:-¹

In Edina's fair city, you have heard how of late
A Club is erected, no offense to the state,
Of Clergy and laymen, all Whigs stout and true,
All willing to fight for old Presbyt'ry blue,
Derry down, down, down, derry down.

By some Jacobite Worthies, I know 'tis pretended,
From the High Court of Justice they're strictly descended:
Some say they're from Babel, but it matters not where,
The toasts that they drink you shall candidly hear.
Derry down, down, down, derry down.

Notes: (No offence to the state...) This is designed by the poet to distinguish it from Jacobite clubs, which have of late been numerous, as the Buck Club, and several others: for which vid. Political History of the Devil, ad finem.

(High Court of Justice...) This was the court that condemned Charles I. compared by some to the infernal club of Milton's Pandemonium. Vid. Sermons on the 30th January, passim.

(Some say they're from Babel...) This opinion is favoured by the Jacobite mystics: but the Free Masons Club came from the same place. Vid. History of the Black Art.

In the year 1788, when the Revolution Club was preparing for its centenary jubilee, a Scots author by the name of John Pinkerton was solicited to prepare a song for its use on that occasion. The song, and the struggles which Pinkerton had in its composition, are related in detail in his Literary Correspondence.² Other notices of the doings of this "loyal" organization appear in various periodicals of the period, and several of the Club's manuscript Diplomas are still in

1. A Collection of Songs, page 24 f.

2. The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, edited by Turner, Vol. 1, page 196 f.

¹
existence.

After the somewhat objectionable task of dealing with Hell-Fire Clubs, and the rather thankless one of trying to make the Revolution Club sound interesting in a literary way, it is with some relief that I turn to the Griskin Club and the vagaries of its members.

This club was a coterie of Edinburgh literati who "dined together at a tavern in the Abbey two or three times, where pork griskins being a favourite dish, this was called the Griskin Club, and excited much curiosity, as everything did in which certain people were concerned."² Our interest in this casual association is focused on an incident which took place during the turmoil which accompanied the performance of John Home's tragedy of Douglas in Edinburgh in 1756.³

When it became known that a play which had been written by a Presbyterian clergyman, an order which prided itself on its unreasoning resistance to the dramatic devices of the Devil, was to be performed in the holy city of Edinburgh, the public uproar was as frenzied and nonsensical as it was ineffectual. Henry Mackenzie, who, as a small boy, recalled the disturbance and the interest which Home's tragedy aroused, has left us the following account:-⁴

1. For notices of the Club see Caledonian Mercury, Edinburgh, Wednesday, November 9, 1763; Scots Magazine, November 1773, page 613; Edinburgh Evening Courant, Wednesday November 13, 1776; Scots Magazine, December, 1788, page 620; Scots Magazine, January, 1791, pages 28-29; and the Glasgow Courier, Vol. 1, #35, Saturday, November 19, 1791. For examples of the Diplomas, see those in the collection of the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.
2. Carlyle: Autobiography, pages 326-327.
3. See Chapter 4, page 191, above.
4. Mackenzie: Life of Home, page 37.

Its rehearsals were attended by that literary party who were the constant companions of the author, and then the chief arbiters of taste and literature in Edinburgh -- Lord Elibank, David Hume, Mr. Wedderburn, Dr. Adam Ferguson, and others. Dr. Carlyle, who sometimes witnessed those rehearsals, expresses, in his *Memoirs*, his surprise and admiration at the acting of Mrs. Ward, who performed Lady Randolph. Digges was the Douglas of the piece, his supposed father was played by Hayman, and Glenalvon, by Love; actors of very considerable merit, and afterwards of established reputation on the London stage. But Mrs. Ward's beauty (for she was very beautiful,) and feeling, tutored with the most zealous anxiety by the author and his friends, charmed and affected the audience as much, perhaps, as has ever been accomplished by the very superior actresses of after times. I was then a boy, but of an age to be sometimes admitted as a sort of page to the tea-drinking parties of Edinburgh. I have a perfect recollection of the strong sensation which Douglas excited among its inhabitants. The men talked of the rehearsals; the ladies repeated what they had heard of the story; some had procured, as a great favour, copies of the most striking passages, which they recited at the earnest request of the company. I was present at the representation; the applause was enthusiastic; but a better criterion of its merits was the tears of the audience, which the tender part of the drama drew forth unsparingly. "The town," says Dr. Carlyle, (and I can vouch how truly,) "was in an uproar of exultation, that a Scotsman should write a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merits were first submitted to them."

As Mackenzie has related, the rehearsals for the new play which caused all the foment of interest and of mischief, were eagerly attended by the leading members of the Edinburgh literati. But before the actual rehearsals were begun, the Griskin Club had held one of their own "in the lodging of Mrs. Sarah Ward in the Canongate," the purpose of which¹ "was to make her fully apprehend the author's meaning." In the Griskin Club rehearsal, which took place on 4th December, 1756, the characters² of the play were portrayed by the following members:-

Lord Randolph,	-- William Robertson, the historian.
Glenalvon,	-- David Hume.
Old Norval,	-- Alexander Carlyle, Minister at Inveresk.
Douglas,,	-- John Home, the author.
Lady Randolph,	-- Adam Fergusson, scientist and historian.
Anna, the maid,	-- Hugh Blair, Minister at Lady Yester's.

1. Brougham: Life, page 540, Appendix VI. Quoted from a letter of Carlyle's.
2. Ibid. The date is fixed by a notice which appeared in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, 4th December, 1756.

Dr. Carlyle reports that although the rehearsal was not completed, it was attended by an audience composed of "Patrick, Lord Elibank, Lord Milton, Lord Kames, Alexander Wedderburn, Esq., James Ferguson, Esq., junr. of Pitfour, and suchlike; with Mr. Digges and Mrs. Ward." ¹ "The company, all but Mrs. Ward, dined afterwards at the Griskin Club, which then met at a tavern in the Abbey." ¹

Although there has been an occasional doubt cast upon the probability of this rehearsal ever having taken place, there appears to be sufficient evidence to convince all but the most determined sceptics. The story has often been repeated, and sometimes with minor variations, though, in substance, all accounts agree. ² The most pertinent bit of evidence is that appended to Henry Brougham's autobiography. ³ Brougham gives a copy of a letter, which I have already quoted above, written by Alexander Carlyle in reply to a query which had been directed to him by Caroline, Marchioness of Queensberry, regarding the accuracy of an account which

-
1. Brougham: Life, page 540, Appendix VI. Quoted from a letter of Alexander Carlyle's.
 2. Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 1, page 420 f., discredits the account which he had from an article which appeared in the Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle for 21st January, 1829. Burton gives the name of the clubs as the Erskine Club. This error, whether typographical or careless I know not, was repeated by Wilson: Memorials of Edinburgh in Olden Times, Vol. 2, pages 118-119. The Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle, which, according to Burton, "excited some attention when it first appeared, (and) found its way into some books connected with Scottish literature," has been the basis for most accounts since: see, for example, a reprint of the article in the Gentleman's Magazine; Small: Life of Adam Ferguson, page 7; Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, page 64, 88, and: 110; Greig: David Hume, page 225. Somewhere along the line, the story was improved by the addition of the circumstance that the rehearsals took place in a tavern, an invention which was faithfully repeated by all those whom I have just named. The original Chronicle version appears in Schmitz: Hugh Blair, page 35. For a part of the story, see also Carlyle: Autobiography, page 326 f., and for the authentic version, note 1, page 512, below.
 3. Brougham: Life, page 540, Appendix VI.

appeared in the Edinburgh Daily Advertiser. Carlyle's reply, which was in the possession of the Earl of Home at the time Brougham wrote, confirmed the story, but corrected the inaccurate details of the version which¹ appeared in the Daily Advertiser.

It would be quite possible, though by no means desirable, to conclude a work on Scottish literary organizations without once mentioning the club activities of James Boswell. Despite the fact that he was an inveterate club-goer, a social busybody, and the finest literary artist of the period, Boswell's participation in Scottish literary clubs and societies was negligible.² As is well known, Boswell was an important member of Johnson's Literary Club, but he did not enter deeply into the activities of the literati of Edinburgh.

If the literary organizations of the Scottish capital failed to interest him, however, Boswell found clubs of a convivial order very attractive. In his young manhood in Edinburgh, before he had met the subject of his great biography, he was the founder and a very active participant in the Soaping Club.³ The spirit of the Soaping Club, with

1. Carlyle's letter, as quoted by Henry Brougham, reads as follows:-
"The paragraphe in the 'Daily Advertiser' of September 25 may be partly true, but there are mistakes in it that tend to mislead the publick in a matter of importance, and should therefore be corrected. The first rehearsal of the 'Tragedy of Douglas' was not at Inveresk, but at the lodging of Mrs. Sarah Ward in the Canongate, and was designed to make her fully apprehend the author's meaning. The dramatis personae were - (as I have given above, page 510). The rehearsal was not completed. The audience were - (as I have given above, page 511). The company all but Mrs. Ward, dined afterwards at the Griskin Club, which then met at a tavern in the Abbey. Mr. Digges and Mrs. Ward were professional actors of celebrity in their day." (Brougham: Life, page 540, Appendix VI.) This letter has been the basis of only one other account, that of Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 383.

2. See the list of members of the Select Society, Appendix C, page 586; also Chapter V, page 237, note #2, above, under the Pantheon Society.

3. Boswell's London Journal, page 9, Introduction; Graham: Scottish

its motto "Let every man soap his own beard," has probably been caught as well by Boswell himself, in a poem on the subject, as by any of his
1
biographers:-

B_____, of Soapers the King,
On Tuesdays at Tom's does appear,
And when he does talk, or does sing,
To him ne'er a one can come near.
For he talks with such ease and such grace,
That all charm'd to attention we sit,
And he sings with so comic a face,
That our sides are just ready to split.

B_____ is modest enough,
Himself not quite Phoebus he thinks,
He never does flourish with snuff,
And hock is the liquor he drinks.
And he owns that Ned C_____, the priest,
May to something of honour pretend
And he swears that he is not in jest,
When he calls this same C_____ his friend.

B_____ is pleasant and gay,
For frolic by nature design'd:
He heedlessly rattles away,
When the company is to his mind.
"This maxim", he says, "you may see,
We can never have corn without chaff,"
So not a bent sixpence cares he,
Whether with him or at him you laugh.

Men of Letters, page 206; Boswell: Life of Johnson, Vol. 3, page 550; Vulliamy: James Boswell, page 7; and Boswell: Private Papers from Malahide Castle, Vol. 8, pages 97-98.

1. "In 1760, Mr. (Andrew, Capt. Erskine) edited the first volume of a work in duodecimo, entitled "A Collection of Original Poems, by the Rev. Mr. Blacklock and other Scotch Gentlemen." This publication contained compositions by Mr. Blacklock, Dr. Beattie, Mr. Gordon of Dumfries, and others; it was published by Alexander Donaldson, an Edinburgh bookseller and was intended as the first of a series of three volumes. The second volume was considerably delayed, owing to Mr. Erskine's absence with his regiment, and on Boswell were latterly imposed the editorial labours. As contributors Erskine and Boswell were associated with Mr. Home, author of Douglas, Mr. Macpherson, editor of Ossian, and others. Of twenty-eight pieces from Boswell's pen one is subjoined, (quoted above), eminently characteristic of its author." (Rogers: Boswelliana, page 20.)

B_____ does women adore,
And never once means to deceive,
He's in love with at least half a score;
If they're serious he smiles in his sleeve.
He has all the bright fancy of youth,
With the judgment of forty and five,
In short, to declare the plain truth,
There is no better fellow alive.

(Boswell appended the following note to his poem:-

"Who has not heard of 'Every man soap his own beard' -
the reigning phrase for 'Every man in his humour'? Upon
this foundation B_____ instituted a jovial society, called
the Soaping Club.")

Another poetic fragment which may be classed among the Club's
literature, was written to Boswell by a friend whom he had introduced
into the society of Soapers:-
1

You kindly took me up, an awkward cub,*
And introduced me to the Soaping Club,
Where, every Tuesday-eve, our ears are blest
With genuine humour and with genuine jest;
The voice of mirth ascends the list'ning sky,
While, soap his own beard every men, you cry.
Say, who could e'er indulge a yawn or nap,
When Barclay roars for Snip, and Bainbridge Snap.**

Notes: *The Soaping Club - a club in Edinburgh, the motto of
which was, "Every man soap his own beard; or, Every
man indulge his own humour." Their games was that
facetious one, "Snip, Snap, Snorum."

**Barclay and Bainbridge, two members of this Club.

From his associations with the other Soapers, Boswell developed
his ability for "shaving" to a point where, in his own words, it became
a "bad practice". The term "shaving" was a cant term of the Club of
which "the approximate meaning (was) 'to affect deep interest so as to
lead another person on to make himself ridiculous.' The first procedure
(was) 'soaping the victim's beard'; the second 'shaving' or 'applying
the razor'." 2 This delightful social grace, and its effect upon his

1. Letters of James Boswell to the Rev. W. J. Temple, page 301.

2. Boswell: London Journal, page 79.

reception in fashionable company, is carefully noted by the budding
1
biographer:-

I shaved a good deal (at a party at Donaldson's). They were very angry at me, and said it was the only fault I had. But it was a great one, as they were kept in continual apprehension and never knew whether to take me in earnest or not. They owned that I shaved inimitable well; but as I had now attained to perfection in the art, they thought I might lay it aside. In reality it is a bad practice, for people cannot talk to one with seriousness and openness when they imagine that they are all the time making themselves perfectly ridiculous in the eyes of him to whom they are speaking. When I get into the Guards and am in real life, I shall give it over.

It seems safe to assume that Boswell soon "gave over" his Soaping Club antics. One gets the impression that had he tried to "shave" the burly Johnson, the robust lexicographer would have strangled him with his bare hands.

Boswell, however, was human enough to be more tolerant of his own social failings than he was of those about him. His criticism of the members of the Poker Club, which follows, shows that side of his nature which loved the pomp and pagentry of living, and which was quick
2
to resent any breach of a customary observance:-

I must find one fault with all the Poker Club, as they are called; that is to say, with all that set who associate with David Hume and Robertson. They are doing all they can to destroy politeness. They would abolish all respect due to rank and external circumstances, and they would live like a kind of literary barbarians. For my own share, I own I would rather want their instructive conversation than be hurt by their rudeness. However, they don't always show this. Therefore I like their company best when it is qualified by the presence of a stranger.

Like the Soaping Club, the Poker Club had a cant phrase for the

1. Boswell: London Journal, page 105.

2. Ibid, page 36.

type of good-natured raillery that was practised at its meetings. David Hume, in one of his letters to Dr. Blair, mentions his opinion, respecting the Dauphin of France, that he "would be the better of being roasted sometimes in The Poker." ¹ It is nowhere defined, as Boswell has done in the case of "shaving", what this "roasting" consisted of, but its essential points are not difficult to imagine.

The Poker Club, of which Boswell disapproved, was, in actuality, a political association of patriotic Edinburgh literati who had joined forces to agitate for a Scottish militia. The Poker is perhaps the best known of all the non-literary clubs of this period, at least it has been written of more time than any other. ² But whatever it was in the mid-

1. Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2, page 286, "David Hume to Dr. Blair, Compiègne, 20th July, 1765."

2. Carlyle: Autobiography, pages 23, 282, 291, 427, and 439 f.; Rae: Adam Smith, page 134 f.; Fergusson: Life of Erskine, pages 131 and 136 f.; Mackenzie: Life of John Home, page 25 f.; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 371 f., and Vol. 3, page 111 f.; Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 230 f.; Edinburgh Evening News, 28th April, 1928; Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 145 f.); Cockburn: Taverns and Clubs of Old Edinburgh, (from the Scots Magazine, Dec. 1935, pages 218-219.); Lafond: L'Ecosse Jadis et Aujourd'hui, page 46; Ritchie: Life of David Hume, page 83; Malcolm: "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh," (from S. M. T. Magazine, page 59.); Campbell: Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Vol. 6, page 29 f.; The Scotsman, Thursday, September 6, 1883, "Old Edinburgh and its Clubs, III, the Poker Club"; Greig: David Hume, pages 261 and 386; Angellier: Life of Burns, Part I, page 245; Kempt: Convivial Caledonia, page 75; Scott: Prose Works, Vol. 19, page 336 f.; Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, pages 53 and 111 f.; Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2, pages 86 and 456-457; and Hume Brown: History of Scotland, Vol. 3, page 271. The Club is also mentioned briefly in the following works:- Rogers: Scotland, Social and Domestic, page 36; Greig: Letters of David Hume, Vol. 1, page 410, note; Thomson: A Scottish Man of Feeling, page 52; Schmitz: Hugh Blair, page 26; Meikle: Scotland and the French Revolution, page xviii; Small: Life of Adam Ferguson, page 10; Mrs. Cockburn: Memories and Letters, page 253; Adam Ferguson: Life of Joseph Black, page 13; Boswell: Life of Johnson, Vol. 2, page 376, note 1, and page 431, note 1, also Vol. 3, page 360, note 3, and page 399, note 2.

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

eighteenth century, the Poker Club has now become so disguised by fame and literary fumbling that it must certainly appear to a great many people to be something which it never was, nor ever intended to be.

Nearly all of the petty literary sins of carelessness, inaccuracy, and deliberate invention or falsification, (which is, of course, the same thing), have been committed in the name of the poor old Poker Club.

Its origin has been mistaken,¹ its place of meeting confused,² its

-
1. Ritchie: Life of David Hume, page 85, began a whole series of blunders by confusing the Poker Club with the Diversorium. "We have to regret our unsuccessful inquiries as to the commencement of a literary society, which bore the illustrious title of the Poker Club, and which was instituted by the present Dr. Adam Ferguson; but its formation was previous to that of the Select Society (i.e. before 1754).... It met on Tuesdays and Fridays during four or five years, at a house called the Diversorium, in the vicinity of the Netherbow of Edinburgh; and although it is here dignified with the character of a literary society, the reader will not, we hope, conceive an unfavourable opinion of it, when he learns, that the sole object of the members was conviviality. Claret was then sold at eighteen pence per bottle; and the club might have enjoyed a longer existence, if it had not been irrecoverably ruined by a rise in the price of its favourite beverage. Economy was its first and great law; and we cannot suspect its sobriety, since, besides Hume and several learned laymen, Robertson, John Home, Carlyle, and many other clergymen were among its members." Compare the following account of the Diversorium Club from the pen of Dr. Carlyle:- "It was during this Assembly (i.e. 1756) that the Carrier's Inn, in the lower end of the West Bow, got into some credit, and was called the Diversorium.... Some of our companions frequented the house.... Home and I followed Logan, James Craig, and William Cullen, and were pleased with the house. He and I happening to dine with Dr. Robertson at his uncle's, who lived in Pinkie House, a week before the General Assembly, (this note continued on the next page.)
 2. In his account of the Poker Club, Alexander Carlyle, who is the final authority, described the place of meeting as follows:- "We met at our old landlord's of the Diversorium, now near the Cross...." The reader will discover from the note above, (i.e. note #1), that the "Diversorium" was another name for the Carrier's Inn situated near the West Bow in the Grassmarket in Edinburgh. There has been a peculiar insistency on the part of a number of authors who have written of the Poker Club to place the scene of its meetings "in the Diversorium tavern", sometimes near the West Bow, sometimes the Netherbow, and most often near the Cross. What strange combination of literal mindedness and invention has prompted this unnecessary confusion, I have been unable to discover. Perhaps there was a "Diversorium" at the Cross, and at the West Bow as well,

1

patriotic purpose prostituted, its membership augmented without proper

some of us proposed to order Thomas Nicolson to lay in twelve dozen of the same claret, then 18s per dozen, from Mr. Scott, wine merchant at Leith - for in his house we proposed to make our Assembly parties, for being out of the way, we proposed to have snug parties of our own friends. This was accordingly executed, but we could not be concealed; for, as it happens in such cases, the out-of-the-way place and mean house, and the attempt to be private, made it the more frequented - and no wonder, when the company consisted of Robertson, Home, Ferguson, Jardine, and Wilkie, with the addition of David Hume and Lord Elibank, the Master of Ross, and Sir Gilbert Elliot." (Carlyle: Autobiography, page 323, and see also, Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 383). Campbell: Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Vol. 6, page 29, not only accepted Ritchie's botched account, but went him one better by adding to the confusion by stating that Alexander Wedderburn, (whose biography he was writing), was a member. But we know for certain, (see the account above, and the notes which accompany it), that the Poker Club was not organized until 1762, and that it came after, instead of before, the Select Society which both Ritchie and Campbell have tried to pretend was organized when the Poker Club was dissolved because the price of Claret had gone up. By 1762, Wedderburn had left Edinburgh for good, and it was impossible for him to have been present at the Poker Club meetings as Campbell has stated. Mathieson: The Awakening of Scotland, has charitably suggested that Campbell must have had documentary evidence for his statement that Wedderburn was a member, but the existence of such evidence is hardly likely in view of the facts.

(note #2, continued.) but a "Diversorium" at the Netherbow seems only to have existed in the imagination of Thomas Edward Ritchie (see also Campbell: Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Vol. 6, page 29). It strikes me, however, that the mistake could only have been continued through neglect or misreading of Carlyle's account which well deserves close attention. (Thomson: A Scottish Man of Feeling, bibliography, has described Carlyle, the author of the charming Autobiography which I have quoted so often, as "a Tory, a wit, and a snob." But Thomson's cleverness did not prevent him from falling into the vulgar error of supposing that the Poker Club met in a tavern called "the Diversorium.") Among those who support the idea that the Poker Club met at the "Diversorium Tavern" at the Cross, are Greig: David Hume, page 262; and Rae: Adam Smith, page 137. Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, has muddled the issue completely by giving two contradictory locations for the "Diversorium" tavern. On page 83, following Carlyle, he refers to "the Diversorium, as they nicknamed the Carrier's Inn in the West Bow." On page 112, he says, in regards to the Poker Club, "They met at the Carrier's Inn, which was known as the Diversorium, near the Cross." I suggest that the "Diversorium" was, what Carlyle and Graham said it was, a nickname for the Carrier's Inn in the West Bow. What the name of the tavern at the Cross was, I have been unable to determine, but it almost certainly was not the "Diversorium". Doesn't Carlyle say, "we met at our old landlord's of the Diversorium"? meaning, I take it, the landlord of the former meeting place of the Diversorium Club. It is perhaps safest to refer to the tavern "near the Cross" simply as "Tom Nicolson's".

1. Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2, page 456, saw "no other direct and specific

authority, and its reputation stained. Few writers have had the

object (of the Poker Club) but the consumption of Claret." A number of authors recognize the political foundation of the organization, but maintain that it soon became "purely convivial". See Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, page 53; Ritchie: Life of Hume, page 83; Malcolm: Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh, (from the S. M. T. Magazine, page 59); and Campbell: Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Vol. 6, page 29.

1. The most flagrant example of this was the claim made by Campbell: Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Vol. 6, page 30, that Alexander Wedderburn (Lord Loughborough and Earl of Roslyn) was a member of the Club, (see note #1, page 518, above). Greig: David Hume, page 261, who should have known better, includes Lord Kames, although his name does not appear in the extant Minutes of the Club, nor on any list that I have seen. An article in the Scotsman, (Thursday September 6, 1883), quotes James Nasmyth to the effect that his father was a member, but I cannot allow this, for his name appears nowhere in connection with the Poker Club, but suggest that Nasmyth was actually talking about the Cape Club (see page 537, below). Thompson: Scottish Man of Feeling, page 182, seems to imply that Henry Mackenzie was a member. Mackenzie's name, however, does not appear on any list of members. For lists of members, see Appendix K, page 651 f.
2. The worst offender on this score is Rogers: Scotland, Social and Domestic, page 36, Introduction. "The Edinburgh clubs were scenes of dissipation in the most revolting forms. The Poker Club was composed of men of letters, whose social indulgences ill corresponded with their literary tastes. From the club the members staggered home more or less intoxicated." I can only think that Rogers must have been in an intoxicated state himself when he wrote this, for he has fallen flat on his face, if only in a literary way, in this wildly mistaken judgment of the eminently respectable members of the Poker Club. Rogers demonstrates his ineptitude in dealing with the Poker by applying the following anecdote to one of its supposed members. "Where does John Clark reside?" imperfectly articulated the celebrated advocate of that name, to one of "the guard", at four in the morning. "Why, you're John Clark himself," answered the guardsman. "Yes," said the querist, "but I was not asking for John Clark, but for his house." The falsity of this story is ridiculously easy to prove. John Clark, (or Clerk, as the story is given in another, and earlier work, see Mackenzie: Reminiscences of Glasgow, Vol. 1, part II, page 482), was in no way connected with the Poker Club. The Club always adjourned early, (see the MS. Minutes of the Poker Club, or Carlyle: Autobiography, page 440), and was remarkable for its sobriety, (see Carlyle: Autobiography, page 441.) It is obvious that Rogers merely picked up the story, and, in an unthinking moment, used it in his account of the Poker Club. Rogers's account has had an unfortunate effect on at least one other writer. See the effect of his fictions on Angellier: Life of Burns, Part I, page 245. The French scholar, who has written what must be the best work on Burns in existence, was apparently convinced that the literati were as potent with a bottle as they were with a pen. While I admit that the mental picture of Robertson, Hume, Carlyle, Blair, and others in a drunken fit is mildly amusing, at the same time I feel obliged to state that I cannot for a moment seriously believe in it.

perspicuity and pluck to see the Poker Club and to describe it as it actually was. John Rae, however, the author of a biography of Adam Smith, leaves no doubt as to the true character of the Club, for he¹ begins his description in the following manner:-

Every one has heard of that famous club, but most persons probably think of it as if it were merely a social or convivial society; and Mr. Burton lends some countenance to that mistake by declaring that he has never been able to discover any other object it existed for except the drinking of claret. But the Poker Club was really a committee for political agitation, like the Anti-Corn-Law League or the Home Rule Union....

Rae's description is substantiated by the manuscript account of the Club which appears in a volume of Poker Club minutes which are preserved² in the University of Edinburgh library. This account, which was apparently written by Dr. Alexander Carlyle, as it contains two thirds³ of the account which appears in his Autobiography,⁴ reads as follows:-

After the suppression of the Rebellion in 1746, it occurred to many of the noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland that one of the most effectual securities against the recurrence of dangerous insurrections, as well as invasions, would be the establishment of such a Militia force as had existed in England ever since the days of Edward I. The same opinion was entertained by the most eminent of the men of letters, and the subject was frequently discussed in county meetings, town councils and other influential bodies. The leading periodicals between the year 1750 and 1762 contained a number of spirited and able articles in support of the same cause, and several highly educated individuals published pamphlets which exercised a powerful influence, and led to the formation of associations for the purpose of kindling and keeping alive the flame of patriotic feeling.

1. John Rae: Adam Smith, pages 134-135.

2. Minutes of the Poker Club, 1774-1784.

3. Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs", (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3), page 145. See Carlyle: Autobiography, page 439.

4. Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs", (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3), page 145 and following.

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL**

In the beginning of the year 1762 was instituted the famous club called the "Poker," which lasted in great vigour till the year 1784. About the third or fourth meeting the members thought of giving it a name sufficiently significant to the initiated, but of uncertain meaning to the general public, and not so directly or obviously offensive as that of Militia Club would have been to the adversaries of any such object. Professor Adam Ferguson luckily suggested the name of Poker, which was perfectly intelligible to all the originators of the scheme, while it was an impenetrable mystery to every one else.

This association consisted of all the literati of Edinburgh and the neighbourhood (most of whom had been members of the Select Society), with many country gentlemen who were indignant at the invidious line drawn between Scotland and England.

The management of the club was frugal and moderate, as that of every association for a public purpose ought to be. The members met at the tavern kept by Thomas Nicolson (which was the name of their old landlord of the Diversorium), near the Cross. Dinner was on the table soon after two o'clock at the rate of a shilling a head. The only wines used were sherry and claret, and the bill was called for at six o'clock.

After the first fifteen admitted by unanimous nomination, it was resolved that the members should be chosen by ballot, and two black balls were to exclude any candidate.

At every successive meeting a new president was to be called to the Chair; Mr. William Johnstone, advocate, afterwards Sir William Pulteney (of Westerhall) was elected Secretary, with the charge of all publications which might be thought necessary by him and two other members whom he was directed to consult.

In a laughing humour, the club appointed Mr. Andrew Crosbie, advocate, to be Assassin if in any extremity the services of such an officer should be needed. But David Hume was added as assessor, without whose assent nothing was to be done, so that between plus and minus there was no risk of bloodshed.

This club continued with great spirit to hold frequent meetings six or seven years, and every member being satisfied with the frugal entertainment was not less pleased with the company. According to the testimony of the members who attended most regularly, no approach to inebriety was ever witnessed. About the end of the seventh year an unfortunate misunderstanding between one or two of the members and the landlord occasioned the removal of the club to Fortune's Tavern, the most fashionable in the town, where the day's expense soon became three times more than the usual amount of the bill at Thomas Nicolson's, and the consequence was that many of the members, not the least considerable,

attended much less frequently than they had done while the management was more economical.

A still more unfavourable result was that a number of new candidates were admitted whose views were not congenial with those of the old members. To obviate this disadvantage a few of the original members formed a new club called the "Tuesday," which met at 'ommers' Tavern, and continued to flourish about two years, after which time, as the original club had to a great extent dwindled away in consequence of the death of some, and the desertion of others, the most strenuous supporters of the principles of the old club broke up the "Tuesday" meeting and returned to their former friends.

The date of the first meeting of this organization is unknown, for the existing minutes cover only the years from 1774 to 1784, but Carlyle¹ says that "the club was instituted in the beginning of 1762." The activities of the Poker Club, as they are recorded in the Club's book of minutes, are easily described. The association met for dinner once each week, chiefly during the winter months, at an Edinburgh tavern, (first at Thomas Nicolson's, "near the Cross", and later at Fortune's). An important function of each meeting was the designation (by rota) of two members upon whom was laid the duty of being present at the next appointed meeting. The fine for failure in this imperative obligation was that the offending member had to pay for the entire evening's entertainment. The following laconic entry is typical of the sport-²iveness with which this provision was treated by the members:-

Friday 3rd August, 1781.

Present Dr. Robertson, Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Lumsden, Mr. G. Fergusson, Convener. Mr. George Home, the other Convener, not having attended, the bill is to be sent to him - on which the meeting drank a bumper to Mr. Home.

1. MS Minutes of the Poker Club, 1774-1784, also Carlyle: Autobiography, page 439.

2. MS. Minutes of the Poker Club, 1774-1784.

The militia question does not often appear in these extant minutes. Occasionally, however, some allusion to the subject is made which gives the impression that though it was not recorded, the problem was not neglected. On the 26th July, 1782, at a large meeting, the subject of a Scottish militia was still being pursued, and this was twenty years¹ after the Club had first been formed:-

26th July, 1782.

Sir John Dalrymple and Doctor Blair, Preses.

Attending Members.

Lord Haddington.

Lord Glencairn. (cancelled)

Mr. Nairne.

Mr. Millar.

Baron Gordon.

Mr. (illegible) Adams.

Colonel Fletcher.

Mr. George Ferguson.

Mr. James Ferguson.

Mr. Adam Ferguson.

Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Carlisle.

Major Rutherford.

Lord Elliock.

Mr. Alexr. Ferguson.

Mr. Cullen.

The meeting elected the Marquis of Graham & Sir James Johnston for members, & the Preses present (was instructed) to write a letter of thanks to the Marquis of Graham for his noble (work) in the business of the Scotch Militia last session & they appointed the Marquis of Graham, Lord Glencairn, Mr. Adam Ferguson, Mr. Edgar, Major Rutherford, Mr. Kennedy, Colonel Fletcher, Sr. John Halket & Lord Advocate to be a committee to form a bill for a Scotch Militia.

Lord Anderville & Doctor Black to be attending members for next meeting.

(signed) John Dalrymple
John Campbell.

A further indication of the political and military activities of this group of rather warlike literati appears in the following notices which appeared in the Edinburgh Evening Courant during

1. Ms. minutes of the Poker Club, 1774-1784.

February and March, 1780:-

Edinburgh Evening Courant, Wednesday, February 9, 1780.

At a Meeting of the Antigalican Society on the 31st January last.

Present.

The Duke of Buccleugh.	Mr. Fordyce of Aytoun.
The Earl of Glencairn.	Mr. Buchaan Hepburn of Smeaton.
The Earl of Hadinton.	Commissioner Smith.
Sir John Whiteford.	Mr. Kennedy of Dalqharne.
Col. John Campbell of Boquhan.	Mr. Edgar.
Mr. Ferguson of Pitsour.	Mr. John Home.
Mr. Ferguson of Craigdarroch.	Dr. Carlyle.
Mr. William Wairn, Advocate.	Dr. Ferguson.

It was Resolved,

That it is the design of the Society to promote every measure that can tend to strengthen the hands of Government, and contribute to the defence and security of our country against our enemies.

That the members having in particular become sensible, on occasion of the late alarms, from the French and other enemies, on the coast, that the use of arms, and of manly exercises, have been too long discontinued, propose in the following manner to use their endeavours to revive them, viz:-

To set up three prizes within the year:

One to the best Marksman.

Another to the party, not under 5, and not above 20, who shall walk together in the shortest time, over a space of ground, to be assigned by the managers.

And a third to the party, limited as above, who shall strike with most balls, at 30 paces distance, an elevation of wook or earth five feet high.

The first and third prizes to be shot for with the bayonet fixed.

The walk to be performed full accoutred and armed.

At the same time resolved, that the competition for any of the above prizes be limited to subscribers, and to householders who pay house-tax within the royalty of the city of Edinburgh, Canongate, South and North Leith, and the parish of St. Guthberts, and who have a stand of arms their own property.

That no one shall be allowed to compete for any of the above

prizes, who, within the year in which such prize is given, shall have been accessory to any riot, tumult, or breach of the King's Peace.

That, in case of any hostile descent, or landing on any part of the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, this Society will give a gold medal, to be wore by any person who shall take or disarm an enemy, within any of the counties contiguous to this shore or coast.

That, to promote the purpose of this Society, a subscription will be opened, not exceeding one Guinea yearly.

And that the Society will meet when called by a committee of their number now named, in order to elect five managers who shall carry the above plan into execution.

Subscription-papers will be lodged, in the course of the ensuing week, at - Mr. Balfour's - Mr. Creech's, Booksellers; - Fortune's Tavern; - and Balfour's Coffeehouse.

The Society flatter themselves, that, although this plan is altogether local, such sports and exercises as prepared, and animate men for the defence of their country, may be introduced and promoted by other Societies of the same nature, in different parts of the kingdom.

At first it may not be obvious what connection all this has with the Poker Club, but I would like to draw the readers attention to a fact which he is probably unaware of, and that is that every member of the Antigalican Society which has been listed above is also listed as being a member of the Poker Club. ¹ In my opinion, the Antigalican Society was simply a more active form of the Poker Club, and a more public appearance of the Edinburgh literati's interest in a militia or some alternate form of national defence. Further notices of the activities of the Antigalican Society read as follows:-

Edinburgh Evening Courant, Saturday, February 12, 1780.

At a meeting of the Antigalican Society, Lord Glencairn in the Chair, on the 9th day of February, 1780, - upon a report from their committee, That unforeseen difficulties were likely to

1. For lists of the members of the Poker Club, see Appendix K, page 651 f.

arise in the execution of part of the plan at first proposed,- it was resolved, that their subscription should be limited to the prize for the best Marksman.

Their Managers will advertise the time and place of competition, with the other circumstances that maybe necessary.

Subscription-paper are lodged at Mr. Creech's and Mr. Balfour's, at Fortune's Tavern, and at Balfour's Coffeehouse.

The final notice, a letter of approbation on the activities of the Antigalican Society, reads as follows:-

Edinburgh Evening Courant, Wednesday, March 8, 1780.

To the Publisher of the Edinburgh Evening Courant.

Sir,

Having lately seen in your paper an advertisement from the Antigalican Society, I could not forbear to express my approbation of it, if agreeable to you, even in this public manner. I have always regretted that the use of arms and of manly exercises should be so much neglected in this country, and especially at this period. Agriculture and manufactures, Sir, are excellent things, and ought to be promoted to the utmost. but in neither of these is Scotland ever to make a distinguished figure. The national character has always hinged, and always must, upon arms and letters; and I would therefore say to every true Scotsman, Hae tibi erunt artes.

The young nobleman who seems to be at the head of this society, I have never seen, and therefore can judge nothing of him, but from his public behaviour. I can remember a maxim of his grandfather, John Duke of Argyle, That a Scots Peer, to make himself considerable at court, must first make himself respectable at home. The conduct of his grandson brings this maxim fresh to my remembrance. Instead of prowling about the purlieus of St. James's, he has spent two laborious years in forming a regiment for the immediate defence of the country. Instead of giving himself up to the luxuries of his own palace, he goes upon his duty to a distant part of the kingdom, and lives the life of a private soldier. In such sliding times, this is a degree of virtue and patriotism, I highly admire; and when I say so, I speak but the sentiments of all the country around me. Sure I am, it throws indelible disgrace on the mock patriots of our neighbouring kingdom.

Senex.

Although I must insist on the political and patriotic aspects of the Poker Club, there is no point in avoiding the obvious fact that the association was of a dual nature. In other words, although it was a political association as to origin and common aim, it functioned as a convivial dining club as well. Its organization, as shown in the Minutes, fully bears out this contention. But this duality of purpose need not surprise us, for good wine, good food, and good conversation were essential ingredients of all types of Scottish organizations from the most exalted to the most humble. There was nothing, until the very end of the century, that was the equivalent of the ponderous and heavy organization under which modern associations, (more particularly those of the "learned" variety), strive to accomplish their ends. When the personality and the intellectual attainments of the members of the Poker Club are considered, it seems obvious that the conversation at their meetings must have been of the highest order, and to describe the Poker as a literary club, as has often been done, is as understandable as it is mistaken. In writing to Adam Ferguson from Fontainebleau in 1763, David Hume expresses his yearning for "the plain roughness of the Poker, and particularly the sharpness of Dr. Jardine, to correct and qualify so much lusciousness."¹ And Alexander Carlyle makes the following reference in regard to the Poker Club meetings:-²

Although the great object of these meetings was national, of which they never lost sight, they had also happy effects on

1. Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2, page 172, "Hume to Professor Ferguson, Fontainebleau, 9th November, 1763."

2. Carlyle: Autobiography, 444, note. See also Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, page 112, note. Compare Carlyle on the same subject on page 496, above.

private character by forming and polishing the manners which are suitable to civilized society, for they banished pedantry from the conversation of scholars and exacted the ideas and enlarged the views of the gentry and created in the several orders a new interest in each other which had not taken place before in the country.

About 1786 or 1787, an attempt was made to revive the old association in the form of a Younger Poker Club. This attempt has been graphically¹ described by Sir Walter Scott in the following terms:-

We have heard of a meeting of the Poker Club, which was convoked long after it had ceased to have regular existence, when its remaining members were far advanced in years. The experiment was not successful. Those who had last met in the full vigour of health and glow of intellect, taking an eager interest in the passing events of the world, seemed now, in each other's eyes, cold, torpid, inactive, loaded with infirmities, and occupied with the selfish care of husbanding the remainder of their health and strength, rather than in the gaiety and frolic of a convivial evening. Most had renounced even the moderate worship of Bacchus, which, on former occasions, had seldom been neglected. The friends saw their own condition reflected in the persons of each other, and became sensible that the time of convivial meetings was passed. The abrupt contrast betwixt what they had been, and what they were, was too unpleasant to be endured, and the Poker Club never met again. This, it may be alleged, is a contradiction of what we have said concerning the Nestorian banquet of John Home's, formerly noticed. But the circumstances were different. The gentlemen then alluded to had kept near to each other in the decline as well as the ascent of life, met frequently, and were become accustomed to the growing infirmities of each other, as each had to his own. But the Poker Club, most of whom had been in full strength when the regular meetings were discontinued, found themselves abruptly re-assembled as old and broken men, and naturally agreed with the Gaelic bard that age "is dark and unlovely."

A supplementary list of members "of the younger Poker Club about the year 1786 or 1787," was added to the list of regular members which² was published in the Life of Henry Home, by Alexander Fraser Tytler.

This list reads as follows:-

-
1. Scott: Prose Works, Vol. 19, page 337 f.
 2. I have taken the list from Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, page 151, where it was reprinted. For the regular members see Appendix K, page 651 f.

Professor Dugald Stewart.

Lord Daer.

Dr. W. Greenfield.

John Playfair.

William, Lord Robertson.

David Hume, Advocate.

Lord Bannatyne.

Patrick Brydone, Esq.

William Waite, Esq.

George Home, Esq.

William Craig, Esq.

Henry Mackenzie, Esq.

Solicitor-General Robert Dundas.

John Morthland, Advocate.

D. Rutherford, M. D.

Alexander Tytler, Advocate.

Dr. Henry Grieve.

Old members attending:-

John Home, Esq.

James Edgar, Esq.

Dr. A. Carlyle.

Dr. H. Blair.

Dr. Joseph Black.

General Fletcher Campbell.

In a number of unessential particulars, the club which I intend to deal with at this point, the Cape Club, was very similar to the Poker Club. "Both were formally constituted about the same time, and both seem to have had at one time a bond of sympathy, in the promotion of adequate defence for the Kingdom of Scotland;"¹ the household poker figured largely as a symbol in both their activities, and, like the Poker, accounts of the Cape Club have been a mainstay in many descriptions of Edinburgh's clubs.² But here the similarity ends, for although the

1. Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, page 154. What Cockburn means is that in during the American War, the Cape Club donated one hundred guineas for the funds of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers. (See Cockburn: Ibid, page 162, and his "Taverns and Clubs of Old Edinburgh," (from the Scots Magazine, December, 1935), page 219. In 1794, when "no less than fifty-five members of the celebrated Cape Club were enrolled in the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers," (see Kay: Portraits, Vol. 1, part 2, page 237, note, and Scots Magazine December, 1794, page 796.) the members of the Cape Club gave forty pounds "towards the relief of the widows, etc. of those brave fellows who suffered in the glorious victory obtained over the French." (see the Scots Magazine, August 1794, page 509, and the Glasgow Courier, Vol. III, #462, Tuesday, August 12, 1794.)

2. Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs," (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 154); Fergusson: Works, Appendix L, page cxix f.; Grosart: Robert Fergusson, pages 122-123; Sommers: Life of Robert

Cape, like the Poker, was an organization in which conviviality was an important function, we shall soon see that the Cape Club lacked the dynamic political purpose which characterized the Poker Club.

But this is not to imply that the purpose of the Cape Club, that of providing a congenial convivial atmosphere for its members, is unworthy of our attention. Many particulars of the Club, and particularly as regards its ceremony which was probably intended as a parody on Masonic practices, show some marks of imagination, and the Club is interesting in a literary way because it periodically celebrated the birthdays of famous men of literature. The following accounts give some idea of the nature of these literary occasions:-¹

Fergusson, page 53 f.; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 378 f.; Wilson: Memorials of Edinburgh in Olden Times, Vol. 2, page 22 f.; Malcolm: "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh," (from S. M. T. Magazine, page 59); Cockburn: "Taverns and Clubs of Old Edinburgh," (from the Scots Magazine, December, 1935, page 219); The Weekly Scotsman, Saturday, March 27, 1937; Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 230; and Telfer: The Scot's Poems of Robert Fergusson, page 112 f. Brief notices of the Club also appear in the following publications:- Kay: Portraits, Vol. 1, part 2, page 237, note; Thomson: Scottish Man of Feeling, page 217; Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, page 377; Scottish Notes and Queries, Vol. 5, page 86; Scots Magazine, September, 1790, page 460; December, 1794, page 796; and August, 1794, page 509; The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 5, Thursday, September 14, 1769, page 352; Vol. 10, Thursday, October 4, 1770, page 52; and Vol. 10, Thursday, October 24, 1770, pages 114-115; The Glasgow Courier, Vol. III, #462, Tuesday, August 12, 1794. The Cape Club also plays a large role in a play entitled Olden Times, or the Rising of the Session; a Comedy in Five Acts, by D. Eain. The Club's records, in four volumes of manuscript, are lodged in the National Library of Scotland. The regalia, used in the initiation ceremony, which is described on page 536, below, is in the collection of antiquities on view at the Museum of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland, in Edinburgh. See also, for relics of the Cape Club of Glasgow, page 553.

1. The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 5, Thursday, September 14, 1769, page 352.

While the friends of the Buskin were celebrating the memory of the great father of the drama on the banks of his native Avon,¹ his admirers here have not been wanting in testimonies of their respect and reverence for that darling of all the muses. A society of gentlemen in this city, distinguished by the appellation of Knights of The Cape, held a musical festival in honour of Shakespeare, on Wednesday the 6th. An ode, written on this occasion by one of these gentlemen, and set to music by another, was performed; which was followed with a grand concert of music, conducted by the best performers in this country. An elegant cold collation was served up, and a generous glass circled round the company, who spent a truly Attic evening....

But the true Bard of the Cape Club was James Thomson. It was a custom of the Knights to commemorate the anniversary of his birthday, once a decade, with a Jubilee Festival.² The nature of these celebrations is revealed in a report of the one held on 22nd September, (Thomson's birthday),³ 1770:-

After the memory of Thomson had been drank by the Sovereign and all the Members standing, the entertainment began by Mr. Woods reciting a beautiful occasional Poem, of his own composition, in honour of the Birth-day of Thomson. Several suitable sentiments to the memory of those who were the particular friends of Thomson being given, Mr. Woods proceeded to recite, from a poem of Dr. Langhorn's, the contest of the Seasons, who are represented as appealing to Thomson to decide on their respective merits. At proper intervals, he afterwards, delivered passages from the four Seasons, each being followed by songs applicable to the respective subjects by other Members of the Society. Mr. Woods then recited a number of passages selected by him from Thomson's Poem of Liberty. This was immediately followed by another member singing Rule Britannia, who was joined in the chorus by the rest of the company all standing; and which concluded an entertainment, gratifying in the highest degree to every person present.

-
1. Those readers who are admirers of James Boswell will recognize that this celebration was the one which he attended in the autumn of 1769.
 2. Sommers: Life of Robert Fergusson, page 53.
 3. Scots Magazine, September, 1790, page 460. See also the Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 10, Thursday, October 24, 1770, pages 114-115; and Vol. 10, Thursday, October 4, 1770, page 52.

The Cape Club was organized in 1763, although there has been an unsuccessful attempt to suggest that it was in existence some thirty years

¹ earlier. The derivation of the name of the organization is not certain,

but there is a pretty legend which has been accepted as adequate by

² several authors:-

The name of the club had its foundation in one of those weak jokes, such as "gentle dullness ever loves," and such as seemed to keep alive, by their unassisted wretchedness, for many years, the numerous associations which appeared to be nominally founded on them. A person who lived in the suburbs of Calton, was in the custom of spending an hour or two every evening with one or two city friends; and being sometimes detained till after the regular period when the Netherbow Port was shut, it occasionally happened that he had either to remain in the city all night, or was under the necessity of bribing the porter who attended the gate. This difficult pass - partly on account of the rectangular corner which he turned, immediately on getting out of the Port, as he went homewards down Leith Wynd - and partly, perhaps, (if the reader will pardon a very humble pun,) because a nautical idea was most natural and appropriate on the occasion of being half-seas-over - the Calton burgher facetiously called doubling the Cape; and, as it was customary with his friends, every evening when they assembled, to enquire "how he turned the Cape

-
1. Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 125, has confidently stated that the Club was established on 15th March, 1733. His evidence for this would have been more convincing if he had understood it properly. He bases the date of the foundation of the Club on a notice which appeared in the Edinburgh Herald in 1798, which announced a celebration of the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Club held on 15th March. But we know from Sommers: Life of Robert Fergusson, that the Cape Club was "instituted in the year 1763; since which, they have held two festivals annually, when there generally sit down to dinner from sixty to seventy members. The last was upon Saturday the 20th of August, being the 75th festival; when there stood on the roll 705 members!" It is easy to see how Grant made his mistake. Not knowing that the Cape Club celebrated two anniversaries every year, he assumed that the Club was nearly twice as old as it really was. Grant's mistake has been followed by Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs," (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 155), and by the author of an article which appeared in the Weekly Scotsman, Saturday, March 27, 1937.
 2. The original story is from Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 249. It has been repeated, with minor variations, by Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, page 155; Malcolm: "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh,"

last night," and, indeed, to make that circumstance and that phrase, night after night, the subject of their conversation and amusement, "the Cape," in time, became so assimilated with their very existence, that they adopted it as a title; and it was retained as such by the organized club into which, shortly after, they thought proper to form themselves....

The purpose and intentions of the Cape Club, for which the members¹ gathered together every night, was, from the beginning, as follows:-

After the business of the day was over to pass the evening socially with a set of select companions in an agreeable, but at the same time a rational and frugal manner; for this purpose beer and porter were the usual liquors, from fourpence to sixpence each the extent of their usual expense; conversation and a song their amusement, gaming generally prohibited; and a freedom to come and go at their pleasure was always considered essential to the constitution of the Society.

From a description of the ritual ceremonies of the Cape Club which appears in the extant records of that organization, the admission of new members was a "solemn" affair. According to this account, incoming² members were initiated in the following manner:-

The Novice, having made his appearance in Cape Hall, was led up to the Sovereign by the two Knights upon whose recommendation he had been balloted for and admitted, and, having made his obeisance, was made to grasp the large Poker with his left hand, and laying his right hand on his left breast the oath or obligation was administered to him by the Sovereign (the Knights present all standing uncovered) in the following words:-

"I swear devoutly by this light
To be a true and faithful Knight,
With all my might, both day and night,
So help me Poker!!"

Having then reverently kissed the large Poker, the Sovereign raising the lesser Poker with both his royal fists proceeds to

(S. M. T. Magazine, page 59); and Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 378, note.

1. Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs," (from the Book of Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 155.
2. Ibid, page 157, quoted from the Cape Club records.

club the novice by inflicting (or at least aiming) three several blows at his forehead, pronouncing at each blow, audibly, forcibly, and in their order, one of the initial letters of the motto of the Club — C. F. D., explaining their import to be Concordia Fratrum Decus, or, as interpreted by the Knights —

Behold how good a thing it is,
And how becoming well
Together, such as brethren are
In unity to dwell.

The new Knight was then called upon to recount some adventure or "scrape" which had befallen him; from some leading incident in which a title was conferred on him, by which he continued ever after to be designated in the Club.

After being sworn in, each new member was given an elaborate Diploma, without which he was not entitled to the privileges of the Club. "The diploma, printed on white satin, presents, in the upper part, between two cupids, an escutcheon displaying two pokers crossed, one bearing the cap of the sovereign, together with a wreath, exhibiting the motto of the Order, "Concordia Fratrum Decus." Below is a wine-flaggon, the emblem of ¹conviviality and friendship. The printed form reads thus:-

Be it known to all men, — That We, Sir _____, the Super-Eminent Sovereign of the Most Capital Knighthood of the Cape, having nothing more sincerely at heart than the glory and honour of this most noble Order, and the happiness and prosperity of the Knight Companions, and being desirous of extending the benign and social influence of the Order to every region under the Cope of Heaven; being likewise well informed and fully satisfied with the abilities and qualifications of _____, Esq., with the advice and concurrence of our Council, We do create, admit, and receive him a Knight Companion of this most social Order, by the title of Sir _____, and of C. F. D. hereby giving and granting to him all the powers, privileges, and pre-eminences that do or may belong to this most social Order, and We give command to our Recorder to register this our patent in the Records of the Order. In testimony whereof, We have subscribed these presents at our Cape-hall, this _____ day of _____ in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and _____.

Sovereign.

Recorder.

One of the peculiar circumstances of the Cape Club which reminds one of the Poker Club was the part played in their initiation ceremony, and on the Diploma which was awarded to each member, by the two pokers. The similarities of the two organizations, the adoption of the household poker as a symbol by both, and the fact that they were contemporaneous, has led to considerable confusion of their traditions. In the following account, although the author thinks he is referring to the Poker Club, it is obvious, to me at any rate, that he is really offering his reader an account of the Cape Club, and he may, inadvertently, be giving us the explanation as to how the Cape Club came to adopt the poker symbol:-

James Nasmyth... gives a different account of the origin of the name (of the Poker Club). He says that the Club was called "The Poker," "because the first chairman, immediately on his election, in a spirit of drollery laid hold of the poker at the fire-place, and adopted it as his insignia of office. He made a humorous address from the chair, or "the throne," as he called it, with scepter-poker in hand; and the Club was there-upon styled by acclamation "The Poker Club." "I have seen," he adds, "my father's diploma of membership. It was tastefully drawn on parchment, with the poker duly emblazoned on it as the regalia of the Club."

The thing that gives away Nasmyth's story is the mention of his father's Poker Club Diploma. The Poker Club did not issue Diplomas, although it has frequently been credited with doing so. This mistaken idea seems to have arisen from the simple fact that crossed pokers appeared on the Cape Club Diplomas. But, as we have seen, the inscription on the Cape Club Diploma leaves no doubt that the organization which issued it was a far cry from the Poker Club.

1. The Scotsman, Thursday, September 6, 1883, "Old Edinburgh and its Clubs."

2. Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 372, says, regarding the Poker Club that "the parchment diploma (had) a poker emblazoned as the society's symbol)" In the Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition of 1894, we find listed "the Mace of the 'Poker Club'." (page 308, item No.

In the field of literature, the Cape Club is noteworthy for the reason that one of its members was the poet Robert Fergusson. The rules of the organization required that members were to take assumed names, and Fergusson, who was admitted on 10th October, 1772, took the name of "Sir Precentor".¹ Fergusson, as might be expected, exercised his poetic talents for the benefit of the Knights of the Cape. One of his efforts² at this kind of occasional verse was a song which reads as follows:-

Cape Song

(Tune - "How happy a state does the Miller possess.")

How happy a state does the Cape Knight possess,
With sixpence he'll purchase a crown's worth of bliss,
Oer a Foaming green stoup, he depends for some sport;
From a Liquid that never can do a man hurt.

What though in Capehall he should goosified spew,
From peuking with Porter, no thirst can Enssue.
Not so my Dear Knight, Fares the Ignorant ass
Who drinks all the Evening at burning Molass.

Now in the Cape Closet a Table's preparing,
With Welch Rabbits garnish'd by good Glasgow herring.
Oh what Caller Tippery shall be quaffd?
And of the Thames water O a Terrible Draught!

In freedoms gay frolick, we shorten the night
With humorous pitching by Songs of Delight.
Then who would not rather in Capehale get drunk,
For sixpence, than give half a crown to a Punk?

(Note) - Dont shew this to the Knights as I would wish to
Surprise them with it.

Yours,
(signed) R. Fergusson.

1681). The huge poker which this entry refers to has since been correctly labeled as belonging to the Glasgow Cape Club. (See page 553, below.)

1. Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 381.
2. From a manuscript (Laing II, 354), in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

There is also in existence a poetic history of the Cape Club in three cantos which bears the title of the Capeiad. Bound with this volume are a number of verses in Fergusson's handwriting, though it is not known if¹ he was the author of the larger work.

When the young poet was ill and in financial difficulties, shortly before his early and tragic death, the members of the Cape Club behaved very creditably toward him, as the following entry in their records bears² witness:-

At the Eighteenth Grand Festival, 2nd July 1774.

In James Mann's in Craig's Close on Saturday. — It was unanimously agreed by the Grand Cape that the remainder of the Fines of the Absentees from the meeting after paying what Extraordinary charges may attend the Game, shall be applied for the benefit and assistance of a young gentleman a member of the Cape, who has been a considerable time past in distress, and the gentlemen present in the Grand Cape made a contribution themselves for the same purpose.

As for the subsequent activities of the Cape Club, it continued³ active until well past the end of the century. By 1799, it had created 650 Knights, and, according to Daniel Wilson, "Provincial Cape Clubs, deriving their authority and Diplomas from the parent body, were successively formed in Glasgow, Manchester, and London, and in Charleston, South Carolina, each of which was formally established in virtue of a royal commission granted by the Sovereign of the Cape, The American off-shoot of this old Edinburgh fraternity is said to be still flourishing in the⁴ Southern States."

1. The Capeiad in three Cantos. (Laing MS. III, 464). A MS. in the Univ. of Edinburgh Library.

2. Grosart: Robert Fergusson, page 122.

3. The last meeting was on 29th March 1841, at which time it was decided to hand over the Club records to the Society of Antiquaries, who, in turn placed them in the National Library of Scotland. (Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, page 163.)

4. Wilson: Memorials of Edinburgh, page 18, Vol. 2, (edition of 1848).

Another convivial association which is worthy of treatment in this chapter is that of the Crochallan Fencibles.¹ This club of Edinburgh wits has achieved an immortality which it could never have pretended to had it not been for the fact that Robert Burns was among its members. Like his brother poet Robert Fergusson, Robert Burns has made this rather ordinary convivial society a noteworthy literary monument, and the two clubs which they thus brought to distinction have a place in any work which pretends to discuss eighteenth-century Scottish literary societies.

Although the Crochallan Fencibles Club has been described a number of times,² the best account is probably that contained in Kerr's Life of William Smellie. Kerr, who undoubtedly had first-hand information from Smellie's son Alexander Smellie, who, with his father, was an active member of the organization,³ describes the Club as follows:-

1. The spelling of this Club's title is uncertain. Harry Cockburn, who is something of an authority on these matters, gives it "Chrochallan". (Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs," (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 165.) Kerr, however, in his Life of Smellie, page 254 f., Vol. 2, spells it "Crochallan". I have chosen Kerr's spelling because it is the one which has been most widely adopted.
2. Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 254 f.; "A Visit to Mr Smellie's Printing-Office," (taken from a periodical Publication, March 1843); Wilson: Memorials of Edinburgh in Olden Times, Vol. 2, page 25 f.; Angellier: Life of Burns, part 1, page 249; Cockburn: "Old Edinburgh Clubs," (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 163 f.); also "Tavern and Clubs of Old Edinburgh," (from the Scots Magazine, December 1935, page 220.); Malcolm: "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh," (from the S. M. T. Magazine, page 60.); Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 384; Chambers: Works of Burns, Vol. 2, page 41. In the following work, the Chrochallan Fencibles receive brief mention:- Watkeys: Old Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 326; and Fergusson: Life of Erskine, page 267.
3. Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 255 f.

Mr. Smellie was a member of the Crochallan Fencibles, a convivial club which used to meet in a tavern in Edinburgh, and which consisted of a considerable number of literary gentlemen. The club assumed the name of Crochallans, from the burden of a Gaelic song with which the landlord used sometimes to entertain the members,¹ who chose to name their association Fencibles, because several military volunteer corps in Edinburgh then bore that appellation. In this club, most of the members bore some pretended military rank or title, as colonel, major, captain, etc. Mr. Smellie was recorder, and kept a regular journal of their proceedings, in which all new members, the elevation of any of the members to the fancied dignities of the club, all bets which took place during the meetings, and all fines or punishments for imaginary delinquencies, were regularly recorded in an ironical style of assumed consequence and decorum. He was besides invested in the dignified office of hangman to the corps, in the exercise of which it was his duty to execute rigid ironical justice upon all delinquents, which he is said to have performed with much humorous gravity. On the introduction of new members into this club, it was customary to treat them at first with much apparent rudeness, as a species of initiation, or trial of their tempers and humour; and they usually got a friendly hint on this subject, that they might be aware of what was probably to happen. Mr. Smellie was frequently appointed to drill the recruits in this way....

According ^{to} the Harry Cockburn, the Crochallan Fencibles Club was
2
organized about 1778. The proprietor of the tavern in which the Club met, whose singing gave the organization its name, was Daniel Douglas. The records of which Kerr speaks, in the passage quoted above, have disappeared, but although no list of members exists, it is possible
3
to compile a representative one from the many accounts of the Club.

1. "Dawney Douglas knew a sweet old Gaelic song, called "Cro Chalien," or Colin's cattle, which he was wont to sing to his customers..." (Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 235; for the same story see Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 384; Chambers: Works of Burns, Vol. 2, page 41; and Angellier: Life of Burns, part 1, page 250.)

2. Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, page 163.

3. In compiling this list I have made use of the ten sources indicated below. The numbers opposite each members name refers to the works in which his membership in the Crochallan Fencibles is affirmed. Sources 1 to 4 are quoted in a similar list which appears in Cockburn:

It was in 1787 that Robert Burns was introduced into the
 Crochallan Fencibles.¹ An idea of the activities of the Club at the
 time may be obtained in the following description of its meetings:-²

"Old Edinburgh Clubs," (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 3, page 164-165. See also Cockburn's "Taverns and Clubs of Old Edinburgh," from the Scots Magazine, December 1935, page 220, which, while it does not give a list in the form in which it appears in his other work, contains all the names which Cockburn knew of at the time he wrote.)

1. Works of Robert Burns, 1877, Vol. 2, page 47.
2. Wilson: Memorials of Edinburgh, Vol. 2, page 25.
3. Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 1, and Vol. 2, pages 157-187.
4. Reminiscences of Anchor Close.
5. Chambers: Works of Burns, Vol. 2, page 41.
6. Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 384.
7. Fergusson: Life of Erskine, page 267.
8. "A Visit to Mr. Smellie's Printing-Office, etc."
9. Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 254 f., and page 403.
10. Angellier: Life of Burns, Part 1, page 249 f.

List of Members of the Crochallan Fencibles Club.

Edward Bruce, Writer to the Signet.	4, 8.
Robert Cleghorn of Soughton Mills.	1, 6.
(?) Cruikshank.	10.
Alexander Cunningham, Writer.	1, 6.
William Dallas, Writer to the Signet.	4, 8.
William Dunbar, Writer to the Signet.	3, 5, 6.
John Dundas, Writer to the Signet.	4, 8.
Thomas Elder, Esq.	9.
Hon. Henry Erskine.	2, 7, 8.
Lord Gillies.	2, 8.
Hon. Alexander Gordon, Advocate.	3.
Captain Matthew Henderson.	3.
Charles Hay, (Lord Newton).	2, 3, 6, 8.
William Nicol.	10.
Alexander Smellie.	4, 8.
Dr. Gilbert Stuart.	2.
Alexander Wight.	4, 8.
Williamson of Cardrona.	4, 8.

1. There is contradictory evidence as to the person who introduced Burns to the Crochallan. (this note is continued on the next page.)
2. "A Visit to Mr. Smellie's Printing-Office, Foot of the Anchor Close," (taken from a Periodical Publication, March 1843.) I have only seen this article in pamphlet form.

When any Member of this Corps committed a fault, he was uniformly tried by a court-martial, when pleadings were made for and against the pannel by the late Honourable Henry Erskine; the celebrated lawyer, Alexander Wight, Esquire; the late Charles Hay, Esquire, afterwards Lord Newton; and an eminent lawyer, Adam Gillies, Esquire, afterwards Lord Gillies, and lately deceased. The late John Dundas, Esquire, W. S., was always the agent for the pannel, and the late Edward Bruce, Esquire, W. S., agent for the prosecution. This corps owed its origin to the late Mr. William Smellie, author of the Philosophy of Natural History, and translator of Buffon, who resided in the summer season at some distance from Edinburgh, and who occasionally dined in this tavern. To this corps in 1787 Burns, when in Edinburgh superintending the printing of his Poems, was introduced. As it was customary to handle a new member rather roughly, one of the corps was pitted against Burns in a contest of wit and irony; and Burns said he had never been so "abominably thrashed in all his life;" at the same time he bore it with perfect good humour, and he added that he had never been so delighted at any convivial meeting.¹

Burns has written of the Club in several of his poems, notably in his description of two of its members, William Smellie, and William
2
Dunbar. His description of Smellie is touched with satire:-

Interpolation
Shrewd Willie Smellie to] Crochallan came;
The old cock'd hat, the gray surtout, the same,
His bristling beard just rising in its might,
'Twas four long nights and days to shaving night,
His uncomb'd grizzly locks, wild staring, thatch'd
A head for thought profound and clear, unmatched;
Yet tho' his caustic wit was biting rude,
His heart was warm, benevolent and good.

Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 259, has claimed that Smellie did the deed. Fergusson: Life of Erskine, page 267, however, states that it was Henry Erskine who presented Burns to the Club. Fergusson, whether he is right or not, has the honour of having preserved the tradition of another notable visitor to the Corps. He mentions, (Ibid), that Signor Vincent Lunardi, Secretary to the Neapolitan Embassy, and celebrated ballonist, visited the Chrochallans in October, 1785 just after he had made a successful flight in Scotland.

1. The member who administered this "thrashing" was Smellie. (See Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 259.)
2. Chambers: Works of Burns, Vol. 2, page 41; Rogers: Social Life in Scotland, Vol. 2, page 385; and Grant: Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 236.

Burns's poetic portrait of William Dunbar is a little more lively:-

As I can by Crochallan,
I cannillie keekit ben;
Rattlin, roarin' Willie,
Was sittin at yon boord-en',
Sittin' at yon boord-en',
And amang gude companie;
Rattlin, roarin' Willie,
Your welcome hame to me.

There are a number of anecdotes which have been handed down
regarding the antics of the members of the Crochallan Corps, but only
one of them is worth repeating. The story goes as follows:-

A comical gentleman, one of the members of the corps, the late Laird of Cardrona, got rather tipsey one evening after a severe field day. When he came to the top of the Anchor Close, it occurred to him, that it was necessary that he should take possession of the castle. He accordingly set off for this purpose. When he got the length of the Castle Gate, he demanded immediate possession of the garrison, to which he said he was perfectly entitled. The sentinel, for a considerable time, laughed at him; he, however, became so extremely clamorous in his peremptory demand, that the sentinel found it necessary to apprise the Commanding-Officer of the circumstance, who came down to inquire into the meaning of such impertinent conduct. He at once recognised his friend Cardrona, whom he had left at the festive board of the Crochallan Corps only a few hours before this occurrence. Accordingly, humouring him in his conceit, he said, "certainly you have every right to the command of this garrison:" and "if you please I shall conduct you to your proper apartment." He accordingly conveyed him to a bed-room in his house. Cardrona took formal possession of the garrison, and immediately afterwards went to bed. His feelings were quite indescribable when he looked out of his bed-room window next morning and found himself surrounded with soldiers and great guns. Sometime afterwards this story came to the ears of the Crochallans; and Cardrona said he was never afterwards left the life of a dog, so much did they tease and harrass him on this strange adventure.

-
1. Chambers: Works of Burns, Vol. 2, page 42.
 2. The other yarns are exceedingly feeble, but the interested reader will discover them in Kerr: William Smellie, Vol. 2, page 257 f.
 3. "A Visit to Mr. Smellie's Printing-Office, etc." (See my bibliography of pamphlets.) *This is also in Chambers' "Traditions of Scotland"*

"The Chrochallan Fencible Club seems to have had a short but a merry life. In the Reminiscences of the Anchor Close,¹ there is given a copy of the circular issued for the last meeting":-

Headquarters, Queen Mary's Council Chamber,
Anchor Close, 10th December, 1795.

A meeting of the Corps of the Chrochallan Fencibles is appointed to be held on Sunday, 13th current.- Sacred to the memory of the late Mustermaster General, Major, and Paymaster.

The Cape Club and the Crochallan Fencibles, despite the interest aroused by their literary associations and the vulgar appeal of their rather flamboyant dispositions, are not the most important, nor even the most typical of the convivial associations which were joined by Scottish men of letters. And, of course, this is as it should be, for despite their genius, we must recognise that neither Fergusson or Burns were fully accepted into the select circle of the Edinburgh literati.

In a much quieter way, therefore, the Oyster Club of Edinburgh presents a more representative picture of the Scottish philosophers at their
²
ease.

The Oyster Club was founded, about 1778, by Adam Smith, "Black the chemist, and Hutton the geologist." It was a weekly dining club which met "at two o'clock in a tavern in the Grassmarket." "Among the constant attenders were Henry Mackenzie, Dugald Stewart, Professor John Playfair, Sir James Hall the geologist; Robert Adam, architect; Adam's brother-in-law, John Clerk of Eldin, inventor of the new system of naval tactics; and

1. Cockburn: Old Edinburgh Clubs, page 165.

2. For accounts of the Oyster Club, see Rae: Adam Smith, pages 334-337, 418-19; Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. 5, page 98; also Ibid, Vol. 58, part iv, page 363; Clayden: The Early Life of

Lord Daer." "Dr. Swediaur, the Paris physician, who spent some time in Edinburgh in 1784 making researches along with Cullen," mentions that McGowan, the antiquary and naturalist and friend and correspondent¹ of Shenstone, Pennant, and Bishop Percy, was also a member. We also know, from the diary of Samuel Rogers, that Bogle, "Laird of Daldowie"² was a member. Hugh Blair may have been a member as well, though this is by no means certain. Samuel Rogers also mentions a gentleman by the name of Macaulay as being present at the meeting of the Oyster Club which³ he attended, but this gentleman has not been identified.

According to Playfair, one of the Club members, "the chief delight of the Club was to listen to the conversation of its three founders (i.e. Smith, Black, and Hutton). As all the three possessed great talents, enlarged views, and extensive information, without any of the stateliness and formality which men of letters think it sometimes necessary to affect, as they were all three easily amused, and as the sincerity of their friendship had never been darkened by the least shade of envy, it would be hard to find an example where everything favourable to good society was more perfectly united, and every thing adverse more entirely excluded."⁴ "The conversation of the club was often, as was to be expected from its composition,

Samuel Rogers, page 95; and for brief mention of the Club, see also Mackenzie: Anecdotes and Egotisms, page 124; Malcolm: "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh," (from the S. M. T. Magazine, page 61.).

1. Rae: Adam Smith, page 334, (this note applies to all the quotes which precede it in the paragraph.)
2. Rae: Adam Smith, page 418
3. Ibid.
4. Transaction of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. 5, page 93; quoted in Rae: Adam Smith, page 335.

scientific, but Professor Playfair says it was always free, and never didactic or disputatious, and that 'as the club was much the resort of the strangers who visited Edinburgh from any objects connected with art or with science, it derived from them an extraordinary degree of vivacity and interest'.¹"

Adam Smith was also a member of a "Sunday Club" which met for Sunday suppers.² This Club has been made the scene for an anecdote which forcibly illustrates the eighteenth-century convention of maintaining a gentlemanly and philosophic decorum in dying:³

It is hard to find anything, even in Hume's almost infantine simplicity, more artless and touching than Adam Smith's taking leave of his friends of the Sunday Club when dying,—"I believe (he said) we must adjourn this meeting to another place." It is Dr. Hutton who records the last words of his friend.

Toward the close of the century, young Walter Scott appears as a member of several clubs to which his name has lent a literary interest. One of these clubs, the Mountain, appears to have been little more than a casual meeting of young lawyers who had no other employment. The Mountain is of particular interest as it formed the nucleus of a class in which Walter Scott, John Gibson Lockhart, William Clerk, William Erskine, and Thomas Thomson ardently studied "the popular Belles Lettres of Germany."⁴

1. Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. 5, page 98; quoted by Rae: Adam Smith, page 334, and 337.

2. Rae: Adam Smith, page 334; Dalziel: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 63.

3. Compare the story of Hume's dying as told by Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2; Mossner: The Forgotten Hume, or any of his biographers.

4. Lockhart: Life of Scott, Vol. 1, page 273, and 278.

Scott was also an active member of a dining club which has been described in detail by Lockhart. This association "originated in a ride to Pannycuik, the seat of the head of Mr. Clerk's family.... This was called, by way of excellence, The Club...." ¹ Lockhart's description of it reads as follows:- ²

The members of The Club used to meet on Friday evenings in a room in Carrubber's Close, from which some of them usually adjourned to sup at an oyster tavern in the same neighbourhood. In after life, those of them who chanced to be in Edinburgh dined together twice every year, at the close of the winter and summer sessions of the Law Courts; and during thirty years, Sir Walter was very rarely absent on these occasions. It was also a rule, that when any member received an appointment or promotion, he should give a dinner to his old associates; and they had accordingly two such dinners from him - one when he became Sheriff of Selkirkshire, and another when he was named Clerk of Session. The original members were, in number, nineteen - viz. Sir Walter Scott, Mr. William Clerk, Sir A. Fergusson, Mr. James Edmonstone, Mr. George Abercromby (Lord Abercromby), Mr. D. Boyle (now Lord Justice-Clerk), Mr. James Glassford (Advocate), Mr. James Fergusson (Clerk of Session), Mr. David Monypenny (Lord Pitmilley), Mr. Robert Davidson (Professor of Law at Glasgow), Sir William Rae, Bart., Sir Patrick Murray, Bart., David Douglas (Lord Reston), Mr. Murray of Simprin, Mr. Monteith of Closeburn, Mr. Archibald Miller (son of Professor Miller), Baron Reden, a Hanoverian; the Honourable Thomas Douglas, afterwards Earl of Selkirk, - and John Irving.

The Club, as Lockhart relates in another place in his biography of Scott, was involved in an incident which makes a delightful anecdote. Scott, who was pleading before the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, an employment which Lockhart describes as "the most important business in which any solicitor had as yet employed him," had, during his trial, the unwelcome support of the members of his Club who had "mustered strong in the gallery." ³ The story continues as follows:-

1. Lockhart: Life of Scott, Vol. 1, page 207.

2. Ibid., Vol. 1, page 207, note.

3. Ibid., Vol. 1, page 281.

He began in a low voice, but by degrees gathered more confidence; and when it became necessary for him to analyse the evidence touching a certain penny-wedding, repeated some very coarse specimens of his client's alleged conversation, in a tone so bold and free, that he was called to order with great austerity by one of the leading members of the Venerable Court. This seemed to confuse him not a little; so when, by and by, he had to recite a stanza of one of M'Naught's convivial ditties, he breathed it out in a faint and hesitating style; whereupon, thinking he needed encouragement the allies in the gallery astounded the Assembly by cordial shouts of hear! hear! - encore! encore! They were immediately turned out, and Scott got through the rest of his harangue very little to his own satisfaction.

During the period that the clubs I have just discussed were active, the city of Glasgow was also the scene of many similar organizations. While it is true that the Edinburgh literati outnumbered those of Glasgow, and, as a consequence, their organizations were more varied, more expansive, and more successful, the burghers and merchants of Glasgow, when their fewer numbers are considered, undoubtedly were responsible for forming more convivial, and convivial-literary, societies than those of the metropolis. These Glasgow clubs, in fact, have been made the subject of a very interesting volume of Scottish social history in John Strang's Glasgow and its Clubs, and the reader is referred to that work for detailed information of Glasgow clubs and their activities.

One of the first Glasgow clubs which Strang describes is the Hodge Podge Club. The Hodge Podge Club, which has had a long and successful¹ history, actually began as a literary society "for the purpose of public speaking, or, at least, in political and literary composition; it being² the duty of each member, in rotation, to prepare a question for discussion."

1. See the history of the Club entitled The Hodge Podge Club, 1752-1900. Compiled from the Records of the Club by T. F. Donald. Glasgow: Printed for Private Circulation by James Maclehose & Sons, 1900.

2. Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 46.

For this purpose, the Club met at seven o'clock once each fortnight at Cruikshanks tavern.¹ "The names of the originators of this afterwards famous brotherhood were James Luke, James Simson, Robert Maltman, Peter Blackburn, Dr. Thomas Hamilton, and Dr. Moore."² Dr. Moore, the author of Zeluco, was one of the most active members of the Club, and Strang has included with his account of the Club a long poem of twenty-seven four-line stanzas which he surmises was written by Moore "before 1766", but "that additions were subsequently made to it."³ Strang's book also contains a list of members of the Hodge Podgers.⁴

A well-known Glasgow club of considerable literary interest was that which was formed about Robert Simson when he was Professor of Mathematics at the University of Glasgow. Simson's Club has received considerable attention, and there are some excellent and detailed accounts of it.⁵

The Club met once a week, on a Friday, in a tavern near the college. "The first part of the evening was employed in playing the game of whist," of which Simson was particularly fond.⁶ "The rest of the evening was spent

1. Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 44.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, page 51.

4. Ibid, page 52. The following works also mention the Hodge Podge Club:- Coutts: History of the University of Glasgow, page 498; Stewart: Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship, page 143; and Veith: Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, page 6.

5. Notably those of Carlyle: Autobiography, page 87 f.; Trail: Life of Simson, page 76 f.; Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 28 f.; and the Club is also mentioned by Lives of Eminent Scotsmen, Vol. 5, page 113; Coutts: History of the University of Glasgow, page 227; Brougham: Lives of Men of Letters, Vol. 1, page 511; MacGregor: History of Glasgow, page 343; and Murray: Robert and Andrew Foulis, page 24.

6. Trail: Life of Simson, page 76.

in cheerful conversation, and as (Simson) had some taste for music, he did not scruple to amuse his party with a song; and it is said that he was rather fond of singing some Greek odes, to which modern music¹ had been adapted."

The best account of the Club, because it comes first-hand, is from the pen of Alexander Carlyle. Carlyle, who was admitted a member of the Club about 1743, while he was still a student at the University,² described the Club as follows:-

His club at that time consisted chiefly of Hercules Lindsay, Teacher of Law, who was talkative and assuming; of James Moor, Professor of Greek on the death of Mr. Dunlop, a very lively and witty man, and a famous Grecian, but a more famous punster; Mr. Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy, a very worthy man, and of an agreeable temper; and Mr. James Purdie, the rector of the grammar-school, who had not much to recommend him but his being adept in grammar. Having been asked to see a famous comet that appeared this winter or the following, through Professor Dick's telescope, which was the best in the College at that time, when Mr. Purdie retired from taking his view of it, he turned to Mr. Simson, and said, "Mr. Robert, I believe it is hic or haec cometa, a comet." To settle the gender of the Latin was all he thought of this great and uncommon phenomenon of nature.

Mr. Simson's most constant attendant, however, and greatest favourite, was his own scholar Mr. Mathew Stewart, afterwards Professor of Mathematics in the College of Edinburgh, much celebrated for his profound knowledge in that science....

With this club, and an accidental stranger at times, the great Mr. Robert Simson relaxed his mind every evening from the severe studies of the day; for though there was properly but one club night in the week, yet, as he never failed to be there, some one or two commonly attended him, or at least one of the two minions whom he could command at any time, as he paid their reckoning.

1. Trail: Life of Simson, page 76.

2. Carlyle: Autobiography, pages 89 to 91.

"A few years after the Rebellion of Forty-Five," Robert Simson founded another club in which he met with other members of the organization I have just described on Saturday afternoons to dine at John Sharpe's¹ Inn in Anderston, a small village about a mile from Glasgow. This Club continued to meet until Simson's death in 1768.

One of the first provincial Cape Clubs to be formed by Charter from² the parent organization in Edinburgh was the Glasgow Cape Club. Not a great deal is known about the Glasgow organization, which was formed in 1771, but Strang, who gives a copy of the Club's Diploma, tells that the Glasgow club met in Mrs. Schreid's Tavern, 2nd Flat, Buchanan Court, Trongate, and was patronized by "all the top people of 1783-84." Richard Allan, Junior, of Bardowie was, according to Strang, a leading member of this fraternity. The Club motto was "Concordia Fratrum decus" (the same as the Edinburgh Cape Club's), and the following is a copy of the Diploma, which may be compared with interest to the original issued by the Edinburgh³ Cape Club:-

Be it known to all men, that we, Sir _____, the Super Eminent Sovereign of the Most Capital Knighthood of the Cape, Having nothing more sincerely at heart, than the Glory and Honour of this most Noble Order, and the happiness and prosperity of the Knights Companions; and Being desirous of extending the Benign and Social influence of the Order, to every Region under the Cope of Heaven; Being likewise well informed, and fully Satisfied with the Abilities and Qualifications of _____, Esqr., with the advice and Concurrence of our Council, we do Create, Admit and Recieve him a Knight Companion of this Most Social Order, by the Title of Sir _____ and C. F. D. Hereby giving and granting unto him, all the Powers, Privileges and Preeminences, That do or may belong to this Most

1. Trail: Life of Simson, pages 76-77; and Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 2 f.
2. See page 539, above.
3. Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 561.

Social Order; and we Give Command to our Recorder, to Register this our Patent, in the Records of the Order. In Testimony Whereof, We have Subscribed these Presents at Glasgow Cape Hall, this _____ day of _____ in the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight Hundred and _____.

Sovereign. _____.

Recorder. _____.

For many years the giant poker which the Sovereign of the Cape used as a sceptre was on exhibit in the Hunterian Museum in the College of Glasgow¹ incorrectly labeled as belonging to the "Poker Club". The local antiquarians of Glasgow, however, discovered this error, and have made, in addition, a number of curious speculations as to the origin of the Club's name. David Murray, for example, draws attention to the fact that Cap was a name for strong ale.² The attendants of the Hunterian Museum, following Murray's suggestion, have suggested that the "Cape" comes from this "Cap", or from the "Cap" of foam on a tankard of ale. It is interesting, but scarcely enlightening, to compare these suggestions with the popularly³ accepted story of the origin of the name of the Edinburgh Cape Club.

The Glasgow Cape Club, like the one in Edinburgh, supported the military efforts of Scotland. From the Glasgow Mercury for 8th January, 1772, we learn that the Glasgow Cape had subscribed 100 pounds for raising a Regiment for the American War.⁴ On the 23rd of the same month,

1. See the entry in the Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition of 1894, page 516, item # 1681, "Mace, of the 'Poker Club', Lent by the University of Glasgow (Hunterian Museum)." This poker is much larger than those which were used by the Edinburgh Cape Club, which may be seen, with other Cape Club regalia, at the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

2. David Murray's Notebooks, in manuscript in the Univ. of Glasgow Library, (Vol. II, page 570.)

3. See page 534, above.

4. See also David Murray's Notebooks, MS. in the Univ. of Glasgow, Vol. II, page 570.

"the Sovereign of the Cape, supported by two other members," took part¹ in a patriotic procession in honour of the Glasgow Volunteers.

Among the many clubs which John Strang describes in his book, three are worthy of notice on literary grounds. The first of these clubs, My Lord Ross's Club, was established about 1780. The title of the Club was not a serious one, but was taken from the name of the landlord of the² tavern in which they met. The members gathered every evening at six o'clock, and, amidst their conviviality, found time, as Strang tells³ us, for literary conversation:-

The members of My Lord Ross's Club flew at higher game; for they ever seasoned their hours of innocent revelry with discussions on literature or the fine arts. Amid the hopes and fears excited by the closing events of the American War, they could enter upon a criticism of the works of Hume or Ramsay. They knew the merits of Handel, Raphael, and Roubilliac, as well as the burgesses and boatmen knew those of either Dougal Graham or Bell Geordie; and could have pointed out each original picture of Foulis's exhibition in the College-court, on a King's birthday, as easily as the president of the then undreamed of, and since forgotten, Dilettanti Society could once select the sheep from the goats in the Hunterian Museum!

Among the members of the Accidental Club, which met "during the latter years" of the eighteenth century, and "whose evening meetings were characterized by constant sallies of wit, and by not a few sparks of poetical sarcasm",⁴ was a schoolmaster named John Taylor.⁵ Taylor, a

1. Glasgow Mercury, 29th January, 1778; Glasgow Past and Present, Vol. 5, page 168.

2. Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 109.

3. Ibid, page 111.

4. Ibid, page 221.

5. Ibid, page 221.

sort of club poet, entered into a fantastic poetic contest with a "Rev. D. Gillies", for the leaden crown of wit, the honour to be bestowed for the best poem on "Nonsense". Strang's description of this competition¹ is typical of the tenor of his amiable work:-

The subject chosen, was a poem addressed to "Nonsense," in which the indispensable condition was, that no line should contain an intelligible idea. A leaden crown was the prize proposed to the victor, and to be decided by Dr. Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy. On giving judgment on the efforts of the two who had striven for the prize, the learned Professor said, that "it would have been difficult for him to determine the case, were it a mere question of ability; but, on comparing the poems, it seemed to him that there was something like an idea in one of Dr. Gillies's lines, but that Mr Taylor's verses, were totally free of any such imputation." Mr. Taylor, of course, gained the crown.²

Another club of the same period, and of a similar nature, has one claim to literary fame in a humorous account written by one of its members of an incident which involved the transfer of French prisoners of war from Greenock to Glasgow. The club was the Grog Club, and the title of the piece of "literature" which brings it to our notice was The Battle of Garscube.

The Battle, as printed by Strang, is a long-winded affair of little merit, though he claims that it was reprinted a number of times, and was even plagiarized.³ Neither the name of the member responsible for the essay, nor of any of the other members of this Club are known. According

1. Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 223.

2. "Considerable extracts of this singular poem were printed in Vol. xv of Chambers' Journal." (Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 223.)

3. Strang included the essay as an Appendix to his work. "This paper was originally printed in the Englishman's Magazine, published in London in 1831. It was afterwards transferred, without the author's knowledge, full of errors, to a collection of 'Original and Selected Papers,' published in four volumes at Glasgow. It again appeared in

to Strang, the Club was dissolved when the proprietess of the tavern in which they met, a widow, remarried. Perhaps this is as useful an illustration as any to demonstrate the dependence of these clubs on the taverns in which they met.

I shall close this chapter with another fearsome tale, but this time in real earnest, of the activities of a Hell-Fire Club which was active in Glasgow in the year 1793. The Tron Church of Glasgow was destroyed by fire on the 15th February, 1793. At that time the Tron Session-House was the meeting place of the Presbytery of Glasgow; but it was also used for a very different purpose - that of being a guard-house of the city night-guard, a body composed of the burgesses who took duty by rotation. When the watch left the Session-House at three o'clock on the morning of the 15th February all was safe; but by seven o'clock¹ the Session-House and the church had been totally destroyed. This sacrilegious conflagration was caused, as the following story reveals,² by the diabolical actions of the members of a Hell-Fire Club:-

The guard being out going their rounds, had left a fire as usual in the Session-House, without any one to take care of the premises, when some members of a society, who were the disciples of Thomas Paine, and who designated themselves the "Hell-Fire Club", being on their way home from the club, and excited with liquor, entered

'The Pickwick Papers,' under the editorship of Dickens, for the benefit of the widow of Mr. Macrone, bookseller; and, in the Appendix to this volume, it now appears with the last corrections of the writer." (Strang: Glasgow and its Clubs, page 239, note.)

1. MacGregor: History of Glasgow, page 376 f.
2. Glasgow, Past and Present, Vol. 1, page 208. The author of the account which I have quoted from this work, which does not indicate the authors of its various sections clearly, is said by MacGregor: History of Glasgow, page 376, to have been Dr. Matthie Hamilton. Though the story sounds plausible enough, I cannot vouch for its authenticity.

the Session-House in a frolic. While warming themselves at the fire, and indulging in jokes against one another as to their individual capacity to resist heat with reference to an anticipated residence in the headquarters of the Club, they placed what inflammable materials were at hand on the fire to increase it; and ultimately having, in bravado, wrenched off and placed some of the timbers of the Session-House on the ignited mass, they could no longer endure the heat, and fled in dismay from the house which contained much dry wood, as it was seated like a church. It was soon a mass of fire, and the flames caught the church, which was totally destroyed in a terrific conflagration, so that on the north side of the Trongate, between it and Bell Street, where Antique Place in Nelson Street now is, a quantity of hay in stack was with difficulty saved from the embers, which were wafted through the air from the blazing church.

The parties thus implicated were so astounded at their own folly and wickedness, and so afraid of the consequences, as to abscond and go abroad to different places, where, as was said, most, if not all of them, died miserably, which might have been predicted by any one who was aware of their vicious habits.

Prior to the burning of the church a party of said Club went to one of the churchyards at midnight, and with a trumpet, etc., endeavoured to turn into ridicule the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.¹

Perhaps it is not inappropriate that this account of Scotland and its clubs, both of fact and of fiction, should close with the macabre notes of a trumpet in a churchyard at midnight. I fear that by this time the reader will have lost either his sympathy or his patience, and perhaps both. But at this time of judgment, whether it be real or in jest, I hope that my simple faith in my subject will, in the final accounting, o'erweigh my many sins, and that the reader will find that he has just enough charity left to forgive me.

1. "About forty years ago it was stated by a citizen that he had been a member of the Hell-Fire Club, and though, as he affirmed, not present at the burning of the session-house, yet detailed with prolixity the whole transaction; also, that one of the party, Hugh Adamson, who went to the churchyard with a trumpet, etc., was hanged at the Cross on 5th of June, 1805. (Adamson had been sentenced to death for having forged and uttered notes of the Ship Bank.)" (Glasgow, Past and Present, Vol. 1, page 263, note.)

CHAPTER TEN.

CONCLUSION.

The three aspects of the Age of Improvement which I set down at the beginning of my thesis - the resolution of the Scots of the eighteenth century to adopt English examples, to "improve" their country, and to perform both tasks by means of clubs and societies - have been an implicit theme which has pervaded the whole of my discourse. At this point, it will be well to record the effect upon Scotland of this national effort which I have called "the movement for national improvement."

The rapidity of Scotland's rise from poverty to riches, both materially and intellectually, has been described many times. These

-
1. Hume Brown: History of Scotland, Vol. 3, page 265; H. Craik: A Century of Scots History, Vol. 1, page 355 f.; Watson: The Scot of the 18th Century, page 5; Rait: The Making of Scotland, pages 301-302; Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, passim; also his Social Life in Scotland, passim; Pryde: Social Life in Scotland since 1707, page 13; Mathieson: Awakening of Scotland, passim; Sir John Sinclair: Statistical Report of Scotland, esp. Vol. 4, page 577; Mathieson: Church and Reform, page 11; Dugald Stewart: Life of Robertson, page 224; Ramsay of Ochtertyre: Scotland and Scotsmen of the 18th Century, passim; Baert: Tableaux de la Grande Bretagne, Vol. 1, page 196 f.; Cockburn: Memorials of his Time, passim; Chambers: Traditions of Edinburgh, Vol. 1, page 27 f.; Newte: Prospects and Observations, page 279 f., and page 318 f.; Lockhart: Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, passim; Thompson: Scottish Man of Feeling, passim; and Burton: History of Scotland, Vol. 8, passim. This is by no means a complete list of such works, but there is little utility in protracting it further. Any competent work which covers the period must take the achievements of the Age of Improvement into consideration, and the rapidity and scope of the changes that took place is almost certain to cause comment.

accounts, however, have invariably overlooked one important aspect of Scotland's development during the early part of the eighteenth century. Few authors have realized that the task of civilizing the Highlands was an important factor in the creation of a desire for national improvement. And it was this desire, as it became manifest in the movement for national improvement, which gave the Age of Improvement its characteristic features.

As those who are familiar with Arnold J. Toynbee's Study of History will readily appreciate, the stimulus of the frontier situation plays¹ a considerable part in exciting and liberating national energies. I have already quoted Lecky's statement that the "union between the Highlands and Lowlands was perhaps an even greater influence on Scottish national life and character than the union of Scotland and England."² At this point a more detailed account of this important aspect of Scottish national development will be useful. For this purpose I have chosen³ the following passage from Rait's The Making of Scotland:-

1. See Chapter 2, page 12, above.

2. See Chapter 5, page 345, above.

3. Rait: The Making of Scotland, pages 301 - 302. I have learned, to my discomfort, that there is a certain sentimental attachment prevalent among present day Scots which provokes them to an acute resentment at any suggestion that the Highlanders were barbarians at least until the Rebellion of 1745. Speaking as an outsider, I cannot persuade myself that such an attitude, as much as I sympathise with it, can in any way alter the plain facts which inescapably suggest that in their social organization, laws, and traditions, the Highlanders were, in the terminology of the Sociologist, in a state of barbarism. As for the sentiment, at least one Scot has seen some danger in it:- "Sentiment is an excellent thing. It is indeed the salt of the world - the cheap defence of nations. But sentiment may be bad as well as good; and then if the light that is in us be darkness, that darkness is intense! It is a bad sentiment, and not a good one, that can make a man look back with sympathy to the epoch of the Clans. Sentiment-- deep and even enthusiastic - may well be felt for those changes in our national history which broke down that Epoch, and which brought back the character and the genius of the Highlanders within the advancing influences of our national civilization." (Argyle: Scotland as it was and as it is, Vol. 2, page 153.)

After the Forty-Five, a series of influences began to work in the Highlands, analogous to those which had changed the civilization of the Lowlands centuries before. The task of the Hanoverian Government was in some respects more difficult than that of the descendants of Malcolm Canmore. In the interval, the clan organization had greatly developed, and clan loyalty had assumed the force of an extravagant devotion. The Church, which had helped to anglicize the Lowlands, was adverse to the process when at last it reached the Highlands. The translation of the Bible into Gaelic secured the permanence of Gaelic as the language of Highland religion, and trade and commerce were of too little importance to render much assistance to the English tongue. On the other hand, the Jacobite risings had weakened the Highlands, and introduced elements of disunion, and the strongest support of the clan system, the joint ownership of land, had already been destroyed by the feudal laws which ignored its existence, and regarded the chief as the sole proprietor. The clan, as a military unit, ceased to exist when the Highlands were disarmed, and as a unit for administrative purposes, when the heritable jurisdictions which successive Kings of Scotland had deplored as the ruin of the country, were abolished in 1747. A change of civilization, without a racial displacement, has been taking place in the Highlands since the reign of George II. By 1773, it had made such progress that Dr. Johnson thought that there had never been "any change of national manners, so quick, so great, and so general."

The Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, as many authors have observed, mark the end of a period of struggle after which the nation, now fully aroused, could direct the national effort to measures of internal development. Henry Craik, for example, prepares his reader in advance for his account of the momentous changes recorded in his

1

Century of Scots History as follows:-

The generation which follows the Jacobite rebellion thus shows us a Scottish national life, open to outside influence, freely reaching after outside experience, adapting itself to changing conditions, enlarging the bounds of traditional creeds and habits, and striving with much enlightenment to cope with new difficulties. Within its own sphere of influence it was bold, and in some respects almost revolutionary. It soon learned to find - nay, its poverty compelled it to seek - every opportunity for sharing in the larger destinies of the Empire. But at first its work was chiefly new modeling its own domain.

1. Craik: A Century of Scots History, page 355, Vol. 1.

And John Watson, who is familiar to many Scottish readers as the novelist Ian Maclaren, sums up the achievements of the Scot of the
1
Eighteenth Century as follows:-

Mr. Lecky has not over-stated thing when he says "No period in the history of Scotland is more momentous than that between the Revolution and the middle of the eighteenth century, for in no other period did Scotland take so many steps on the path that leads from anarchy to civilization."

It were difficult to find a more inspiring record of progress, than between the year 1700 and the year 1800 in Scotland. At the beginning of the century Glasgow was a dwindling town of about 12,000 inhabitants, with only a few ships, and none able to make a distant voyage. Edinburgh would have about 30,000 people, all confined in the old town. The nobles had fled, either ruined or ruining themselves in London. The country swarmed with beggars who had reached, it was said, in evil years the preposterous number of 200,000. Inverness consisted of some 500 thatched houses, and the population of Dundee was considerably under 10,000. The whole revenue of Scotland was only 160,000 pounds, and foreign trade had been killed by the ill-fated Darien expedition. The Highlands were in a state of absolute savagery, the people spending the summertime in raiding, and passing the winter in the most miserable hovels where they subsisted on coarse meal mixed with blood drawn from the veins of their starving cattle. In 1705 in a Shetshire town a woman was done to death for witchcraft, with the consent of the minister of the parish. There was neither trade nor industry, nor humanity nor money, neither was there any literature worth the name, secular or theological, when the eighteenth century began. When the century closed Glasgow had become a great seaport, and a dozen new and profitable industries were flourishing in the land. There were roads through the country. Canals had been made, coalpits opened, iron foundries started. Linen and cotton were being spun on a large scale and with ingenious machinery; there were carpets on the floors, good furniture in the rooms, paper on the walls, stage coaches and post chaises on the roads. Banks were directing and stimulating the finance of the country, and the Eastern towns were exporting their manufactures in all directions, while Glasgow had established a large trade with both the Indies. A school of brilliant writers in Philosophy, History, Religion and the Drama had earned for Edinburgh the title of the modern Athens, and the Scots Kirk might have claimed to be the most enlightened and broadest in Christendom. Superstition and ignorance were dying out, broad and liberal views were taking possession of the people, and the nation, emancipated from the

dead hand of the seventeenth century, and from its weary quarrels, had prepared itself for the conquest of the nineteenth.¹

But it is the intellectual achievements of the century which I, and many others, most admire. Mathieson, in his Awakening of Scotland,² has given us the following summary of this brilliant period:-

Meanwhile the strenuous mental cultivation, of which but an inadequate idea can be obtained from these facts, had rewarded its votaries with an abundant harvest. The latter half of the 18th. century, which witnessed an immense advance in the material condition of Scotland, was also, as the reader need hardly be reminded, the most brilliant epoch in the history of her literature and science. Nowhere but in France was there so rich and varied efflorescence of genius., The England of that produced no such philosophers as Hume; no such opponent of his scepticism as Campbell; no such historian - to adopt the contemporary verdict - as Hume and Robertson; no such tragic dramatist as Home; no poet of such European reputation as Macpherson; no such novelist as Smollett; no such biographer as Boswell; no such preacher as Blair; no such economist as Adam Smith; no such geologist as Hutton; no such surgeon as Hunter; no such physician as Cullen; no such chemist as Black; no such engineer as Watt; and it was within this period that

1. "When nearly every other description of educated persons were satisfied that the crime of witchcraft had no real existence, the clergy continued to urge the reality of the offence, and insisted on its punishment. In 1702, a witch was hanged at Edinburgh.... On the repeal of the statutes against witchcraft, in 1735, many of the Scottish clergy strongly remonstrated. In 1743, the Synod of the Secession Church issued a declaration denouncing the measure as invoking the displeasure of Heaven." (Rogers: Scotland Social and Domestic, page 29.) The result of this was far from desirable. "I think I need scarcely observe to you," wrote Topham from Edinburgh, "that in spite of this outward shew, and the force of superstition, that the Scotch, as a nation, are far from being religious: Deism is the ruling principle. Shocked with the gross absurdities with which their religion is loaded, they pay an obedience to it externally, but treat it with very little ceremony in private." (Letters from Edinburgh, page 238.)
2. Mathieson: Awakening of Scotland, pages 199 - 205. See also Graham: Scottish Men of Letters, page 125. "Of old (the interest in 'polite letters') had shown itself in discussions in tavern clubs, and later in the effort of people of rank and fashion to discard Scots provincialisms and acquire an English polish; in the cultivation of literary taste, which had sprung up all around, and was now bearing excellent fruit in the works of Hume and Robertson and Ferguson."

Robert Burns, the finest and fullest embodiment of his country's genius, lived and died. Many other names - most of them once familiar to foreign ears - are associated with the literary fame of Scotland in this short-lived culmination of her intellectual life - Kames, Monboddo, Hailes, Reid, Gerard, Beattie, Adam Ferguson, Wilkie, Watson, Henry, Somerville, Mackenzie, Stewart, and many others.

One feature in this rapid improvement in Scottish literary affairs was certainly its "commercial" interests. I do not wish to overemphasize this characteristic of the eighteenth-century literary product, but it is important. Perhaps the only word of warning I need interject is that the eighteenth-century men of letters did not regard, as some twentieth-century ones do, the consideration of the public's reception of their work as an irrelevant matter. Johnson's dictum that "no¹ man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money" would not have shocked the Edinburgh literati of the eighteenth century one half as much as it would the Bloomsbury set of the twentieth. It is not a far cry from Johnson's blunt remark to William Robertson's typical observation regarding Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. "I have not read the two last chapters," Robertson wrote to Strahan, "but am sorry, from what I have heard of them, that he has taken such a tone in them² as will give great offence, and hurt the sale of the book."

In my estimation, though I have nowhere found it as plainly stated, the literary efforts of eighteenth-century Scotsmen were largely an "export drive", one feature of which was an earnest and highly successful attempt to capture the English, (that is to say the London,) "literary

1. Boswell: Life of Johnson, Vol. 2, page 16, (Everyman's edition).

2. Bower: History of the University of Edinburgh, Vol. 3, page 101, Dr. Robertson to William Strahan.

1
market." But if no direct statement to this effect has gone before,
it is possible to indicate by indirections that it is a possible way
of looking at Scottish literary endeavours of the period. The feasibility
of regarding artistic productions as commodities for export has been
substantiated, in the instance of architecture, by Ian Finlay in his

2
Art of Scotland:-

(The Scots) remained faithful for more than a hundred years to
a make-believe world based on the rules of Roman architecture,
finding in it perhaps a sort of escapism to compensate them for
the loss of opportunity to develop their own national traditions.
Their reward was to create what might almost be termed a "corner"
in neo-classicism. It became a Scottish "export" in place of
commodities which would have needed capital and much skilled
labour as well as time to produce.

If a style of architecture can be "exported", certainly such a
portable "commodity" as literature may be regarded in the same light.
It was obviously their interest in the London literary market which
prompted Scottish authors to devote so much painstaking care to the
task of mastering an English literary style. And, as I have pointed
out elsewhere, their efforts were highly successful, as William Creech,
in his letter to Sir John Sinclair on the progress of Scotland has
4
indicated:-

In 1763 - Literary property, or authors acquiring money by their
writings, was hardly known in Scotland: David Hume and Dr.
Robertson had indeed, a very few years before, sold some of their
works; the one, a part of the History of Britain, for 200
pounds; the other the History of Scotland, for 600 pounds; -
each 2 vols. in quarto.

-
1. See Chapter 5, page 214, and notes.
 2. Finlay: Art in Scotland, page 79.
 3. See Chapter 4, page 166, and note.
 4. Sir John Sinclair: Statistical Report, Vol. 4, page 577, (Appendix -
Letters to Sinclair by William Creech.)

In 1783 - The value of literary property was carried higher by the Scots than ever was known among any people. David Hume received 5,000 pounds for the remainder of his History of Britain; and Dr. Robertson, for his second work, received 4,500 pounds. In sermon-writing, the Scots have also excelled; and, although, in 1763, they were reckoned remarkably deficient in this species of composition, yet, in 1783, a minister of Edinburgh, wrote the most admired sermons that ever were published, and obtained the highest price that ever was given for any work of the kind. (N. B. The merit of these sermons obtained for Dr. Blair a pension of 200 pounds per annum.)

Previous to 1763, the Scots had made no very distinguished figure in literature as writers, particularly in the departments of History and Belles Lettres. Lord Kames had, in the year before, (in 1762), published his Elements of Criticism; Hume and Robertson had made their first essays in the line of History, a short time before, as mentioned above.

In 1783 - The Scots had distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner in many departments of literature; and, within the short period of twenty years Hume, Robertson, Kames, Orme, Dalrymples (Sir David and Sir John), Henry, Tytlers (father and son), Watson, Reid, Beattie, Oswald, Ferguson, Smith, Monboddo (Burnet), Gregories (father and son), Black, Duncan, Hunter, Stewart (father and son), Stuart (Dr. Gilbert), Blair, Mackenzie, Campbell, Gerard, Miller, Macpherson, Brydone, Moore, Smellie, Mickle, Gillies, Adam, Sinclair, and many other eminent writers, too numerous to mention, have appeared.

The fact that their primary literary market lay outside Scotland was one of two circumstances which, as I shall have occasion to describe presently, conditioned the general temper of the Edinburgh literati.

The other circumstance was the intimacy in which they lived with one another, but, significantly enough, without forming a distinct literary caste. The reason for this rather unusual situation has been explained very successfully by Henry Cockburn in his Memoirs:²

The single upper class that existed included the nobility, the gentry, the Law, the College, the Church, and Medicine - the whole station and learning of the place, and formed an aristocracy which shone undisturbed. This "local aristocracy" is the true key

1. See Chapter 5, page 215 f.

2. Cockburn: Journal, Vol..2, page 194. See also Carlyle: Autobiography, page 280.

to the understanding of the interest and the peculiarity of that society. It was a club, which recognised members of every description who were respectable and agreeable, especially from learning and rank. Nor were even tradesmen, called merchants, absolutely rejected, provided their trade was adorned by personal or family eminence.

But perhaps the best way of illustrating the singularity of the Scottish literary scene is by comparing it, as has often been done before, with that of London.¹ As a prelude to this comparison, I shall once more turn to John Watson's admirably written Scot of the Eighteenth Century:²

1. For this comparison see Mossner: The Forgotten Hume, page 195 f.; Mackenzie: Life of John Home, page 22; Mackenzie: Works, Vol. 7, page 142, "A Short Account of the Life of William Tytler of Woodhouselee," read by the author before the Royal Society, June 20, 1796; Walter Scott: Prose Works, Vol. 19, page 325, (Scott's review of Mackenzie's Life of Home); Millar: Literary History of Scotland, page 362; Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2, page 484; Boswell: Life of Johnson, Vol. 2, page 447, note #5; and, for an excellent comparison in a work of fiction, see Galt: Ayrshire Legatees, page 227 f., (A letter from London from Andrew Pringle, Esq., to the Rev. Mr. Charles Snodgrass. - I have quoted from this letter on page 569, below).
2. Watson: Scot of the 18th Century, page 35 f. David Hume's opinion of his own literary circle is well known, and may be compared with interest with Watson's evaluation. In a letter to Gilbert Elliot of Minto he wrote:- "Is it not strange that, at a time when we have lost our Princes, our Parliaments, our independent Government, even the Presence of our chief Nobility, are unhappy, in our Accent and Pronunciation, speak a very corrupt Dialect of the Tongue which we make use of; is it not strange, I say, that, in these Circumstances, we shou'd really be the People most distinguished for Literature in Europe?" (Greig: The Letters of David Hume, Vol. 1, page 255, letter #135, to Gilbert Elliot of Minto, 2 July 1757.) In later years, Hume wrote to Gibbon and, in congratulating him on his History, drew an implicit comparison of the English and the Scots literary achievements. "Whether I consider the dignity of your style, the depth of your matter, or the extensiveness of your learning, I must regard the work as equally the object of esteem; and I own, that if I had not previously had the happiness of your personal acquaintance, such a performance, from an Englishman in our age, would have given me some surprise. You may smile at this sentiment; but as it seems to me that your countrymen, for almost a whole generation, have given themselves up to barbarous and absurd faction, and have totally neglected all polite letters, I no longer expected any valuable production ever to come from them." (Burton: Life of Hume, Vol. 2, page 484, Hume to Gibbon, Edinburgh, 18th March, 1776.)

It is right to add that if the middle of the century was convulsed by controversy, there was peace towards its close, and the credit is largely due to the spirit of the Moderate Party which was then controlling the Church of Scotland. Culture has not always been calm, and the elder D'Israeli has reminded us that authors are an irascible tribe; but the literary society of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century was almost idyllic in its courtesy and its friendliness. Adam Ferguson the historian had certainly a bitter quarrel with Adam Smith the economist, but Ferguson was an excitable Celt, and had been chaplain of the 42nd in his day, and he made up his quarrel with his old friend before he died. That was the only jarring note in the music, for all the other voices were in harmony. Robertson refused to write a history of England, because it would encroach upon the field of his friend David Hume, and when his history of Scotland took London by storm, Hume bubbled over with delight, and wrote to Robertson "A plague take you! here I sat on the historical summit of Parnassus immediately under Dr. Smollett, and you have the impudence to squeeze past me and place yourself directly under his feet." Robertson was the leader of the Kirk, and Hume the most dangerous critic of the Christian position, and upon those terms they lived, in this controversial century. Robertson was the head of one party in Kirk, and Dr. John Erskine was the head of another, they were colleagues in the same parish, and they preached the one in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon, each from his own standpoint; yet they remained the best and most loyal of friends, and when the Principal died Erskine celebrated his virtues in a noble funeral sermon. When Principal Campbell, of Aberdeen, replied to Hume's book on miracles, he sent the manuscript to Hume, that the philosopher might point out any mistake in fact or unfairness in argument, and Dr. Jardine, one of the leading ministers of Edinburgh and David Hume were on the most intimate terms. Jealousy and acrimony were unknown in that circle; if any man did well they were all glad and every one helped his neighbour to succeed.

Perhaps the best informed comparison of the two literary capitals of Great Britain came from the pen of an author who knew them both well, Henry Mackenzie, the "Man of Feeling." Mackenzie, in his Life of John Home, wrote as follows:-

Such was the free and cordial communication of sentiments, the natural play of fancy and good humour, which prevailed among the circle of men whom I have described. It was very different from that display of learning - that prize-fighting of wit, which

1. Mackenzie: Life of John Home, page 22.

distinguished a literary circle of our of our sister country, of which we have some authentic and curious records. There all ease of intercourse was changed for the pride of victory; and the victors, like some savage combatants, gave no quarter to the vanquished. This may, perhaps, be accounted for more from the situation than the dispositions of the principal members of that society. The literary circle of London was a sort of sect, a caste separate from the ordinary professions and habits of common life. They were traders in talent and learning, and brought like other traders, samples of their goods into company, with a jealousy of competition which prevented their enjoying, as much as otherwise they might, any excellence in their competitors.

1

This view is sustained in Mackenzie's Life of William Tytler:-

It is perhaps only in smaller communities, like that of Edinburgh, that the union of business and literary studies can easily take place. In larger societies, such as that of London, where the professional objects are greater and more extensive, and the different classes of men are more decidedly separated from one another, there is a sort of division of mind, as well as of labour, that makes the lawyer or the merchant a perfect lawyer or merchant, whose mind and time are wholly engrossed by the objects of his profession, and whom it might considerably discredit among his brethren of that profession, were he to devote any portion of either to classical study, or literary composition. In Edinburgh it is otherwise; the professional duties are not in general so extensive as to engross the whole of man, and, his connections in society extending through many different classes of his fellow-citizens, he has opportunities of conversing, of reading, and of thinking on other objects than merely those immediately relating to the business which he follows. This is perhaps the most agreeable state of society of any, which, if it may sometimes prevent the highest degree of professional eminence and skill, (though even on that ground many arguments might be offered in its favour), certainly tends to enlarge the mind, and to polish the manners; to give a charm and a dignity to ordinary life, that may be thought ill exchanged for the inordinate accumulation of wealth, or the selfish enjoyment of professional importance.

Mackenzie's opinion, as expressed above, was supported by Walter

2

Scott and by John Galt. The latter, in fact, has put similar expressions

1. Mackenzie: Works, Vol. 7, page 142, "A Short Account of the Life of William Tytler", read by the Author, Before the Royal Society, June 20, 1796.

2. Walter Scott: Prose Works, Vol. 19, page 325, Scott's review of Mackenzie's Life of John Home. Galt: Ayrshire Legatees, page 228 f., quoted below.

in the mouth of one of his fictional Scottish characters in his Ayrshire Legatees. Andrew Pringle, in a letter to his friend the Rev. Mr. Charles Snodgrass, expresses what must have been a widely held opinion, at least among Scots, of the literary circles of the English metropolis:-

I am much indebted to you for the introduction to your friend G_____. He is one us; or rather, he moves in an eccentric sphere of his own, which crosses, I believe, almost all the orbits of all the classed and classifiable systems of London. I found him exactly what you described; and we were on the frankest footing of old friends in the course of the first quarter of an hour. He did me the honour to fancy that I belonged, as a matter of course, to some one of the literary fraternities of Edinburgh, and that I would be curious to see the associations of the learned here. What he said respecting them was highly characteristic of the man. "They are," said he, "the dullest things possible." On my return from abroad, I visited them all, expecting to find something of that easy disengaged mind which constitutes the charm of those of France and Italy. But in London, among those who have a character to keep up, there is such a diligent circumspection, that I should as soon expect to find nature in the ballets of the operahouse, as genius at the established haunts of authors, artists, and men of science. Banks gives, I suppose officially, a public breakfast weekly, and opens his house for conversations on the Sundays. I found at his breakfasts, tea and coffee, with hot rolls, and men of celebrity afraid to speak. At the conversations, there was something even worse. A few plausible talking fellows created a buzz in the room; and the merits of some paltry nicknack of mechanism or science was discussed. The party consisted undoubtedly of the most eminent men of their respective lines in the world; but they were each and all so apprehensive of having their ideas purloined, that they took the most guarded care never to speak of any thing that they deemed of the slightest consequence, or to hazard an opinion that might be called in question. The man who either wishes to augment his knowledge, or to pass his time agreeably, will never expose himself to a repetition of the fastidious exhibitions of engineers and artists who have their talents at market. But such things are among the curiosities of London; and if you have any inclination to undergo the initiating mortification of being treated as a young man who may be likely to interfere with their professional interests, I can easily get you introduced.

As a conclusion to this comparative presentation of the merits of the Edinburgh club of literati, no finer summary could be offered than that written by the most recent of David Hume's biographers, Ernest

Campbell Mossner. Mossner, with the literary circles of Hume and Johnson in his mind, compares the English and Scottish society of intellectuals as follows:-

No exact counterpart of "The Club" to be sure, existed in the "Athens of the North". The Select Society of Edinburgh, instituted in 1754 by the painter Allan Ramsay on Continental rather than on English models, was for some ten years a highly successful instrument of the Scottish Enlightenment. But as it increasingly tended to become less select, it also became less stimulating and finally broke up. During the first several years of its existence, Hume acted as Treasurer, was a member of the steering committee, and twice took his turn as chairman. His influence was always felt, and the list of topics adopted for formal debate reads like the table of contents to his Essays and Treatises. But never once did he enter into the discussions from the floor. The Select Society did not suit Hume's taste because it lacked the intimacy he deemed vital.

A greater degree of fellowship was attained in other ventures such as the Griskin Club, formed to promote John Home's Douglas, and the Poker Club, formed to promote Scottish nationalism; but none of these adequately filled the bill of a genuine literary society. So far as Hume personally was concerned, no organized club ever did, as the very act of organization tended to stifle free exchange of opinion in close discussion - what he himself described as "the company of a few select companions, with whom I can, calmly and peaceably, enjoy the feast of reason, and try the justness of every reflection, whether gay or serious, that may occur to me."

In quest of the feast of reason, Hume and the Scots turned again to the Continent, finding their model this time in the French salon intime. The intimate - as distinguished from the grand - salon was the society of a few choice spirits, warm in friendship and mutual respect, animated in intellect, and appreciative of good food and good wine. No hard drinking, however, for as Hume expressly warned, a gathering kept from dullness only by that means will soon find the remedy worse than the disease. The Rev. Alexander Carlyle writes glowingly of "warm suppers and excellent claret," adding that "it was those meetings in particular that rubbed off all corners, as we call it, by collision, and made the literati of Edinburgh less captious and pedantic than they were elsewhere" - meaning, of course, London.

The spirit of tolerance illumined the Edinburgh circle. Though many of the literati were clergymen, all were enlightened. To them, the Great Infidel presented no insurmountable problem of

1. Mossner: The Forgotten Hume, page 197 f.

ethics. While they reprobated Hume's religious opinions, they were yet able to distinguish between the opinions and the man; and if they abhorred the first, they loved the second. Dr. John Gregory, the eminent and pious physician, explained this nice distinction to Mrs. Montagu: "I detest Mr. Hume's Philosophy as destructive of every principle interesting to Mankind and I think the general Spirit that breathes in his History unfavourable both to Religion and Liberty, tho in other respects one of the most animated, entertaining and instructive Historys I have ever read. • But I love Mr. Hume personally as a Worthy agreeable Man in private Life, and as I believe he does not know and cannot feel the mischief his writings have done, it hurts me extremely to see him harshly used." The Rev. Hugh Blair put the issue of toleration more pointedly in urging le bon David to a speedy return from London: "We would even be content to bear a little persecution for the sake of it. Usque ad aras, is the word."

The ideal of the Scottish circle, attested by the pervasive toleration accorded all persons and all ideas, was democratic. The spirit achieved was what Lord Shaftesbury a half century earlier had so aptly termed, "Liberty of the Club", and that sort of Freedom which is taken amongst Gentlemen and Friends, who know one another well." The Scottish Enlightenment discovered its literary instrument, not in despotism benevolent or otherwise, but in a genuine republic of letters. The social standard was fraternity, and the personal motto of Dr. Robertson was the implicit motto of all: Vita sine literis mors est.

Comparisons may sometimes be odious but, along with analogies, are requisite to all thinking concerning matters of fact. Yet it would be futile as well as odious to attempt any precise measure of the Edinburgh and the London groups. Suffice it to say, both were distinguished, although distinguished in quite different ways. The literary merit of "The Club" need not be rehearsed here as it is justly famous and customarily receives its due need of praise. It was undeniably great. But the literary merit of the Edinburgh circle is neglected today - perhaps unduly so. In the eighteenth century, however, such was not the case; in fact, more frequently the reverse was true.

The importance of literary societies and clubs in the intellectual development of Scotland in the eighteenth century should, by now, be fairly obvious. We have seen how such organizations began as groups of young men who combined to attack the problems presented by the necessity of mastering a new literary dialect and a new literary form; and how these groups later became organizations in which the members could present their

literary endeavours for the judgment of their fellow members; and, still later, how these organizations, in their turn, became the incorporated societies which could offer the distinction of membership as a recognition of literary achievement. The effect of this continuity, and of the continuous association of Scottish men of letters with their literary societies in all three stages of their development, was certain to have a recognizable effect upon their literary productions. As nearly every work of literature, (and I still use this term in the eighteenth-century sense of including nearly all writing whether philosophical, scientific, theological, or whatever), had to pass the tribunal of a literary society, singularity, or "originality", and egocentricity of all kinds were largely eliminated. Plausibility, lucidity, and common-sense form and style were the qualities which won group approval. And it is just such qualities, therefore, which we recognize as distinctive characteristics of the literary productions of the period. The end result was that few works of literature ever saw the light of day which were not, by modern standards, extremely well written. In the works of the eighteenth-century men of letters may be seen the faults and virtues which were the result of the continuous criticism and evaluation of the literary societies in which such works originated.

One result of the prevalence of literary societies in eighteenth-century life was that literary societies became, in themselves, a literary convention. Not only did it become a common practice to lend support to an opinion or an authoritative statement by pretending that it had its origin in a society, but clubs and societies of all kinds entered into the fabric of the literature produced in and about the eighteenth

century. It is revealing to read the work of a Frenchman who, as an ardent admirer of Sir Walter Scott's novels, interpreted the social life of eighteenth-century Edinburgh lawyers solely in terms of Counsellor Pleydell and his "High-Jinks".¹ The lively scene which Scott created in his Guy Mannering became, for this author at any rate, the terms of reference by means of which he described the past.

On a more serious note, the freedom and friendly exchange of information which has so often been attributed to the Edinburgh literati is revealed as a developing scientific ideal. The passage which I have quoted below is from one of Dr. William Cullen's lectures, and may be taken as an expression of an attitude toward scientific discovery² which was widely accepted among Scottish scientists:-

The French academicians have had this special merit of being accurate in experiments, of being always full and perspicuous in communicating them, and particularly of being free from that narrow, selfish temper of the chemists, which affects a mysterious secrecy. The French chemists have often discovered, by their own industry, and published freely to the world, what was too carefully kept secret in other countries. They have sometimes bought a secret in England, and immediately published it in France to all the world. I hope this account of the French chemists will not be thought improper here. They are, I imagine, an example fit to be held up for the imitation of young students.

But it was the literary-debating society, with its wide range of interests and its emphasis on the development of the powers of eloquence and composition in its members, which occupied a predominant place in eighteenth-century intellectual and social life. And these societies meant something more to the men who were active in them than we are

1. Amedee Pichot: Voyage Historique et Littéraire en Angleterre et Ecosse, Vol. 3, page 218 f.

2. Thomson: Life of Cullen, page 43.

prepared to recognize. The unusual quality of the eighteenth-century Scottish enthusiasm for debate has been recognized by John Hepburn¹ Millar in his Literary History of Scotland:-

That grown-up men should form an association for the purpose of discussing any question in a more or less formal manner is certainly a startling notion to the present generation. Debating Societies, we are apt to think, should be left to the youthful, to those who have plenty of time to canvass topics on which all sensible men have made up their minds, and would rather not divulge their sentiments. The men of the eighteenth century apparently possessed the tailsmen of perpetual youth. At all events, the Select ones held their meeting every Friday in the Advocates' Library, and seem to have been as "keen" as if they had been lads in the "Speculative," which was yet a thing of the future.

But an article which appeared in the Scots Magazine shortly after the mid-century contains nearly all we need know regarding the value that² men of the eighteenth-century placed upon these organizations:-

To the author of the Scots Magazine.

Sir,

The season is approaching, when men, leaving the business and diversions of the country, assemble in populous cities; some for business, some for amusement, and not a few for education and instruction. In the last class may be reckoned those young men who, smitten with love of elegant literature, or destined for the pulpit or the bar, form themselves into preparatory societies, for mutual improvement in speaking and writing. The following essay, on the advantages resulting from such societies, is submitted to your inspection. The subject is new: a young essayist may therefore expect some indulgence. It is likewise of importance; and if, by your publishing the following thoughts, an able writer shall be induced to do it justice, you will oblige more than one of your readers.

I am, etc., A. I.

- I. The first advantage attending such a society, is that of Conversation.

1. Millar: Literary History of Scotland, page 338.

2. Scots Magazine, October 1762, pages 517 - 519.

It is impossible, says Mr. Addison, for a man of the greatest parts, to consider any thing in its whole extent, and all its variety of lights. A member of such an institution as has been mentioned, will immediately assent to the truth of this observation. Whatever pains he may previously take, in examining the subject to be debated; upon comparing his own sentiments of it with those of others, he will find his views not a little enlarged. Many observations will then present themselves, which escaped his own penetration. His arguments he will sometimes find to be feeble, his principles erroneous, his conclusions unjust. Often he will be sensible, that he has viewed the subject in too narrow a point of light, and often that he has treated it too superficially.

In the course of so ingenious, so liberal a conversation, the mind is insensibly cured of those prejudices which are so apt to grow up in it in private. A student who confines himself to his closet, without mixing in company that is truly good, often contracts such a fondness for a particular author, as leads him to imitate, not only his beauties, but his faults. The imagination of a young reader must be gratified: if this faculty be pleased, if it be pleased especially with a florid style, he too often sacrifices his judgment. While he thinks, that nothing bad can be hid under so fair a form, he imbibes, not only the charming sentiments, but the poisonous principles of his beloved author. What blind attachment to particular authors, opinions, and systems, is seen in young men, whose curiosity is confined to their closet!

To prevent, or remove, such prepossessions, an early society of this kind will greatly contribute. Various opinions are delivered, and examined, with candour. That moderation which others observe, in hearing their sentiments refuted, disposes the ingenuous mind to a like moderation.

In a word, an institution of this kind when properly conducted, enlarges our views, improves our reasoning, and frees the mind from every narrow notion. An ingenious author observes, that nothing is preferable to a select company, where one has an opportunity of trying the justness of every reflection that may occur. I doubt, whether the admirable productions of that gentlemen, or those of his friends, would have reflected so great honour of late upon Scotland as they have done, had they not mutually enjoyed the happiness of a Select Society.

One final word is necessary. As the reader will soon discover, if he reads the essays and addresses which I have appended to this thesis, the literary clubs and societies meant a great deal more to men of the eighteenth century than has been brought out by anything that has gone

before. A rather humorous example of this may pointed out in the letter which a Mr. Samuel Hunter wrote to William Smellie. Hunter closes with a friendly direction to Smellie to give "kind remembrance to the club and family."¹ The order of importance given to club and family is, to say the least, unusual. But it reveals, perhaps unintentionally, the importance that was placed on one's social as opposed to one's individual existence. In the essays on literary societies to which I have referred above,² a consistent theme was the significance and the importance of human society. By a rather unfamiliar logic, though I suppose it is reasonable enough, these remarks always led to a consideration of societies in the sense in which we have known it here, that is, as signifying literary societies. The title of one such address, is an accurate description of the class. This title reads "Of Society in General, and Polemical Society in Particular." The message of the essay is, as the reader may discover for himself, an ardent one. The impulse which lies behind human society is the need for association with one's fellow men. And what better way is there for men to associate than in a literary society? The argument is as simple as that. What emerges from it, however, is the inescapable conclusion that to the eighteenth-century man, a literary society was more than a social opportunity, it was, inasmuch as it partook of the universal nature of society in general, a social necessity. In other words, when an eighteenth-century man met with his literary society, it

1. Kerr: Life of William Smellie, Vol. 1, page 87, ltr. #x.

2. See Appendix N, page 661 f.

was an act of faith. What appears to us to have been merely a rather dull way to spend an evening was, to the literati who produced Scotland's Golden Age, an affirmation of their faith in the reasonable basis of human society, and of the validity of a corporate search for truth. A profound respect for the requirements of society, and a genuine belief in their institutions were two important and admirable elements which distinguished the eighteenth-century spirit. And it is this spirit, which we of this century seem temporarily to have lost; that has made the study of eighteenth-century Scottish literary clubs and societies especially important and worthwhile. The result of such studies, however, would be worthless if they engendered merely a nostalgic yearning for the irrecoverable past. They should suggest, rather, that if we are to recover the eighteenth-century's simple faith in the transcendent claims of society, we must be willing to make a sacrifice of our romantic ideals of sanctity of the individual. The suggestion may strike some as being politically, morally, and spiritually undesirable, but if there is one thing that Western Europeans and Americans, especially the Americans, have to learn, it is that we cannot have something for nothing. A stable and responsible society can only be formed of stable and responsible members who actively participate in that society. This is the great lesson that the eighteenth century can teach us.

APPENDIX 'A'

Membership of the Literary Society of Glasgow.¹

The twelve constituent members were,

- Mr. James Moor, Professor of Greek.
- Dr. Robert Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy.
- Dr. (William) Leechman, Professor of Divinity.
- Mr. James Clow, Professor of Logic.
- Mr. Hercules Lindsay, Professor of Law.
- Dr. Robert Dick, Professor of Natural Philosophy.
- Rev. Mr. William Craig, Minister of Glasgow.
- Mr. George Ross, Professor of Humanity.
- Dr. William Cullen, Professor of Medicine.
- Mr. Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy.
- Mr. Richard Betham.
- Dr. John Brisbane.

Though the above were the constituent members, the following were also considered as members, and joined at the ensuing meetings.

- Mr. William Ruat, Professor of Church History.
- Mr. Robert Bogle, merchant in Glasgow.
- Mr. Alexander Graham.
- Mr. William Crawford, merchant in Glasgow.
- Mr. George Maxwell.
- Dr. Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics.
- John Dalrymple, Esq. Advocate, (now Sir John Dalrymple).
- William Mure of Caldwell, Esq.
- The Rev. and Hon. Pat: Boyle.
- Walter Stuart, Esq. Advocate.
- Mr. Thomas Melville.

In 1753 the Society received the following additional members:-

- John Graham, Esq. of Dougaldston.
- John Callender, Esq. of Craigforth.
- David Hume, Esq.
- Mr. George Moorhead, afterwards Professor of Humanity.
- Mr. Robert Foulis, University Printer.
- Mr. John Anderson, afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy.
- Mr. Ferguson, now I believe in Edinburgh College.
- Mr. Wait.

1. Taken from Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow, pages 132 - 134.

In 1756 - 57, and afterwards,

Mr. Andrew Foulis, Printer.
Mr. William Campbell.
Mr. Alexander Wilson, Professor of Astronomy.
Dr. Joseph Black, Professor of Medicine.
Mr. Andrews.
Dr. Alexander Stevenson, afterwards Professor of Medicine.
Rev. Mr. Mackay.
Mr. Thomas Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy.
Mr. James Buchanan, Professor of Hebrew.
Rev. Mr. James Crombie.

In 1761.

Mr. John Millar, Professor of Law.
Dr. Trail, Professor of Divinity.
Mr. Cumin, Professor of Hebrew.
Dr. Williamson, Professor of Mathematics.

In 1762 - 63.

Dr. Wight, Professor of Church History.
Mr. Ogilvie, now I believe a Professor in Aberdeen.
George Oswald, Esq. (of Scotstown).
Lord Cardross, now Earl of Buchan.

In 1764, and afterwards,

Dr. Walker, Minister of Moffat.
Dr. Thomas Reid, Professor of Moral Philosophy.
Mr. Robinson, now in Edinburgh College.
Dr. Irvine, Lecturer on Chemistry.

In 1773 - 1774, and afterwards,

Mr. Wm. Richardson, Professor of Humanity.
Mr. Geo: Jardine, Professor of Logic.
Mr. John Young, Professor of Greek.
Mr. Arch. Arthur, Professor of Moral Philosophy.
Rev. Mr. James Bell, College-Chaplain, afterwards Minister of Coldstream.
Dr. Taylor, now Minister of Glasgow.
Mr. John Wright, a minister in Perthshire, then a College-Chaplain.
Wm. Craig, Advocate (now Lord Craig).
Rev. Dr. Charters, Minister of Wilton.
Mr. Gilbert Hamilton, Merchant in Glasgow.
Mr. Arch. Graham, merchant in Glasgow, (afterwards Cashier of the Thistle Bank).
Dr. Bailie, Professor of Divinity.
Dr. Walter Young, Minister of Erskine.

Dr. Finlay, Professor of Divinity.
 Rev. Mr. Hugh M'Diarmid.
 Rev. Mr. Andrew M'Donald.
 Dr. Davidson, Principal of the University.
 Mr. Wm. Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy.
 Dr. Taylor, then Minister, now Principal of the University.
 Dr. Couper, now Professor of Astronomy.
 Dr. Richard Millar, Lecturer on Materia Medica.
 Dr. Cleghorn, Lecturer on Chemistry.
 Dr. M'Leod, Professor of (Church) History.
 Mr. Mylne, now Professor of Moral Philosophy.
 Dr. Pat: Graham, Minister of Aberfoyle.
 Mr. John Millar, Advocate.
 Dr. John Lockhart, Minister in Glasgow.
 Dr. Hope, Professor (of Chemistry) in Edinburgh.
 Dr. James Jeffray, Professor of Anatomy.
 Mr. James Millar, Professor of Mathematics.
 Dr. J. Brown, now living at St. Andrews.
 Dr. Thomas Brown, lecturer on Botany.
 Mr. Macturk, Assistant Professor of (Church) History.
 Mr. Alex. Craig.
 Dr. Carmichael.
 Dr. Marshal.
 Mr. Pat: Wilson, afterwards Professor of Astronomy.
 Mr. Dunlop, Surgeon in Glasgow.

In 1787, and afterwards,

Rev. Dr. Rankin, Minister in Glasgow.
 Mr. Finlay of Bogside.
 Dr. Freer, Professor of Medicine.
 Mr. Robert Davidson, Professor of Law.
 Rev. Dr. Macgill, Minister in Glasgow.
 Mr. Jackson, at Ayr.
 Dr. Meikleham, Professor of Natural Philosophy.
 The Rev. Mr. Gavin Gibb, Minister of Strathblane, (afterwards
 Minister of St. Andrews Church, and Professor of Oriental
 Languages).
 Mr. Lockhart Moorhead, Librarian to the University, (after-
 wards Professor of Natural History).

APPENDIX 'B'

Philosophical Society of Aberdeen

(Note: Details of the origin of the various works produced by the members of this Society are given by the author of an article which was published in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. VIII, for October 1863. As this article also gives many of the subjects which were discussed in the Society, I have quoted from it at length.)

The date is June 14, 1758. Campbell is President for the day; Gregory, Skene, Reid, Gordon, Gerard, and Farquhar, are present. A strong-built, firmly-knit, dumpy figure, with a kindly but subdued eye, whom one would not readily guess to be, as he is, near fifty, somewhat diffidently takes a MS. from his pocket. His subject is modestly stated - "Some observations of the Philosophy of the mind in general, and particularly on the Perceptions we have by light." This is Reid, with his theory - Philosophy according to the principles of Common Sense. Ten months later he volunteers a discourse entitled "Analysis of the Senses." A year after, he continues the same subject. In three months, he gives a paper "On the Sense of Touch." In his next discourse, twelve months afterwards, he resumes his observations on the "Sense of Seeing," followed, after an interval, by a continuation of the same subject. We next meet with the following minute:-

October 11, 1762. - Present, Dr. Campbell, President; Dr. Reid, Dr. Gregory, Mr. Farquhar, Dr. Skene, Dr. Gerard, and Mr. Gordon. Dr. Reid read his discourse, which the Society approved of. But Dr. Reid declined inserting it, in regard he proposed soon to send it to the press along with the other discourses he had read before the Society.

Here then, within this little circle, may be said to have been the birth-place of the "Inquiry into the Human Mind," a work which, we have Dugald Stewart's authority for saying, revolutionized the philosophy of Scotland and France. The same writer adds that "it is doubtful whether Reid's modesty would have ever permitted him to present to the world the fruits of his solitary studies, without the encouragement which he received from the general acquiescence by his associates (of this Society) in the most important conclusions to which he had been led."

Similarly we may trace Campbell's best-known work. On March 8, 1758, "Mr. Campbell" read the first discourse, given in the Society, - on "The Nature of Eloquence, its various species and their respective ends," and he was unanimously requested to record it in the Society's book." Six months afterwards he discourses on the "Relation that Eloquence bears to Logic." Then follows a "continuation of the same subject." In January, 1763, he gives a discourse on "The Dependence of Eloquence upon Grammar." Between March, 1763, and February, 1768, he reads ten similar

discourses, most of them "continuations." On March 14, 1769, he discourses on "the Canons of Verbal Criticism." After three other continuations, we come to the minute of January 3, 1771, when the series is closed by a discourse on "Words connecting Sentences and Periods."

This, then, was the "Philosophy of Rhetoric," the whole of which - or with not a large exception - as Campbell himself informs us, was submitted to the friendly criticism of the Society.

The works of our philosophers, it will thus be noted, were of remarkably slow growth. The modern rate of throwing off a volume or two per month was very far from their idea of authorship. Campbell, however, who had greater facility, as greater art, in composition than Reid, had published once or twice (and written many professional lectures and pulpit discourses) during the progress of his chapters on Rhetoric through the Society. On the other hand, the germs of the work had been meditated when the author was a country clergyman, twenty years before he finished his readings in the Society; and the work was not published till five years after the last of these. So Reid, who was ordained to a country charge in 1737, deeply pondered his philosophical theories during the whole fifteen years of his incumbency, if not for a longer period, afterwards wove them into his professional lectures, and finally submitted the results to the critical examination of his associates; and it was only in 1764, when he was fifty-four years of age, that he brought them before the world.

In like manner we might trace more or less fully through the Society Gerard's "Essay on Genius," Beattie's "Essay on Truth," Gregory's "Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World," and other works which illustrated the literature of the north at that period.

Among the subjects of discourses read in the Society, and not enumerated above, were the following:- "Euclid's Definitions and Axioms," (Reid); "The Universal Belief in a Deity," (Reid); "Inequality among Mankind," Rousseau criticised, (Trail); "Memory and its Influence in Forming Characters among Men," (Gordon); "The Imagination," (Farquhar); "The use of Leaves of Plants," (Ross); "On a Particular Providence," (Farquhar); "Concerning the Nature of Evidence," (Stewart); "Foundation of Taste in Music," (Gregory); "The Manner in which Association is influenced by the Causes of the Passions," (Gerard); "Origin of Language," (Professor Dunbar); "On the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Methods of Classifying Plants," (three discourses by Dr. H. Skene); "Practical Geometry," (Trail); "Principles which determine Degrees of Approbation in the Fine Arts," (Beattie); "Influence of Place and Climate upon Human Affairs," (Dunbar).

Reid visited the Society once during his vacation from Glasgow in August 1771, and no doubt took part in the conversation of the evening - "How are the Proceedings of Instinct to be distinguished from Reason or Sagacity in Animals?" He felt a warm interest in the prosperity of the body, as his correspondence proves. From this, also, we learn how great an influence the speculations of David Hume had on the minds of the members..... "Always battling with D. Hume?" he asks, years after, in a letter from Glasgow to his friend Skene.

We have a record altogether of upwards of one hundred and twenty questions "conversed upon" during the fifteen years embraced in the records of the Society. These may be ranged, according to their subjects, as follows:- Philosophy, Theology, etc., one third; Natural Science, one-fourth; Political Economy, one-fifth; Education, Literature, Philology, etc., another fifth. Some of the questions which have deeply agitated society in recent times (this author was writing in 1863) were the subjects of conversation, among our philosophers a century ago. Of such as related to deep things - "Providence, fore-knowledge, free-will, fate" - we note the following:-

1. "How far human actions are free or necessary?" (Proposed by Skene).
2. "Is the Human soul confined to any part of the human body; and, if so, to what part?" (Stewart).
3. "Whether mankind, with regard to morals, always was and is the same?" (Reid).
4. "What is the foundation of moral obligation?" (Farquhar).
5. "Whether human laws be binding on the consciences of men?" (Stewart).
6. "Whether every action deserving moral approbation must be done from the persuasion of its being morally good?" (Reid).
7. "Whether brutes have souls; and, if they have, wherein do they differ from human?" (Dr. Skene).

The subject of slavery came up under different aspects. In March, 1764, the Rev. Mr. Farquhar introduces the question, "What is the origin of the Blacks?" Later, Beattie modestly asks, "Whether that superiority of understanding by which Europeans and others imagine themselves to be distinguished may not easily be accounted for without supposing the rest of mankind of an inferior species?" Again, "Whether slavery be in all cases inconsistent with good government?", and "By what circumstances has slavery become supportable to so many nations of mankind?"

In general politics we have the question, "Whether, upon the whole, a high national debt be a benefit to a nation?" followed immediately by this other, "Whether paper credit be not beneficial?" Then we have a question which Aberdeen doctors could, we suppose, afford, at the time, to debate in a purely speculative way, "How does it appear to be equitable that the subjects of a State should be taxed in proportion to their respective fortunes, and not equally overhead, or by any other rule?" The question, "Whether increasing the number of Peers enlarges or diminishes the powers of the Crown?" was followed by the deeper one proposed by Gerard, "Whether any form of government can be perpetual?" (December, 1766). To a like class belonged questions as to the good and bad effects of provision for the poor by poor's-rates, infirmaries, and hospitals; the effect of machinery on labour and population; Church Establishments, etc.

As to population, Malthus was anticipated, in subject at least, for, in 1766, Professor Dunbar calls the attention of his associates to the question, "Whether good policy may not sometimes justify the laying a restraint upon population in a State?" Reid, however, had previously -

namely, in June, 1763, - put the question in an opposite form, thus, "Whether by the encouragement of proper laws the number of births in Great Britain might not be nearly doubled, or, at least, greatly increased?" To refer to later times - so, perhaps, was Mr. Darwin anticipated, by Campbell, when he propounded the curious question, "Can the generation of worms in the bodies of animals be accounted for on the common principles of generation?"

The philosophers did not, so far as we observe, debate the question, "What is poetry?" but they did "handle" two questions closely allied to it, "Whether poetry can justly be reckoned an imitative art?" and (Beattie appropriately asked) "How far versification is essential to poetry?"

Dr. Gregory propounded the question - rather bold for an M. D. - "Whether the art of medicine, as it has been usually practiced, has contributed to the advantage of mankind?" while a reverend preacher (Dr. Gerard) asks, "Whether eloquence be useful or pernicious?" Nor were our philosophers regardless of passing events, for they discussed the proceedings of Wilkes (who is described as a "favourite of the mob") and (beforehand) the transit of Venus across the sun's disc in 1761. They were as little insensible to more practical matters, for we find that they conversed on the effects of lime and water respectively upon the soil, and even debated on Reid's proposal, what measures should be taken to prevent an extravagant rise of servant's wages.

Subjects connected with the business of the members as instructors of youth were pretty frequently discussed. Among these were the comparative merits of public and private education; methods of teaching dead languages; whether longer time should not be given for acquiring Greek in the Scottish Universities; whether a teacher should adapt his instructions to the dull or aid the ingenious; and, finally, whether the "commonality may not have too many opportunities, the good of the State considered, for acquiring a learned education."

Among other subjects of questions were - the food of plants; evaporation; the nature of light; the apparent form and colour of the heavens and heavenly bodies; instinct and reason; wit and humour; the ludicrous; justice; benevolence; enthusiasm; luxury, etc.

The following are the more interesting questions discussed in the Society, not previously noted:-

1. "What is the cause of that pleasure we have from representations of objects which excite pity or other painful feelings?" (Campbell).
2. "What is the true cause of the ascent, suspensions, and fall of vapours in the atmosphere?" (Stewart).
3. "Is there a standard of taste in the fine arts and in polite writing? and how is that standard to be ascertained?" (Campbell).
4. "How far the motion of the earth and light accounts for the aberration of the fixed stars?" (Trail).
5. "Whether justice be a natural or artificial virtue?"
6. "Wherein does happiness consist?" (Skene).

7. "The nature of contrariety?" (Campbell).
8. "Whether the sense of hearing may not be assisted by art, in like manner as that of seeing is by optical glasses?" (Stewart).
9. "Whether, in writing, history, it be proper to mix moral and political reflections, or to draw characters?" (Farquhar).
10. "Whether it is proper to educate children without instilling principles of any kind whatsoever?" (Reid).
11. "Is there any injustice done to an impressed man when he is punished according to the articles of war?" (Ogilvy).
12. "How far the facts relating to the burning of the Roman ships, in the harbour of Syracuse, are reconcilable to the laws of reflection and refraction of light?" (Gordon).
13. "Whether music, painting, or poetry gives the greatest scope to genius?" (Entered by not discussed).

The members, we infer, voted on the questions after the conversation; but we have no means of ascertaining the decisions. The books containing abstracts of the discourses and questions were broken up and distributed, each man getting his own, before the close of the Society.

APPENDIX 'C'

List of the Members of the Select Society 1754 - 1763.
Taken from the MS. Minutes of the St. Giles or
Select Society of Edinburgh.

Mr. John Jardin, Minister of the Gospel in Edinburgh
Dr. Francis Hume
Mr. Adam Smith, Professor at Glasgow
Mr. Anderson
Mr. Alexander Wedderburn
Mr. Simon Fraser, Advocate
Mr. Allan Ramsay, Painter
Mr. James Burnett, Advocate
Mr. John Campbell, Advocate
Mr. Alexander Carlile, Minister at Inveresk
Mr. William Johnston, Advocate
Mr. James Stephenson Rogers, Advocate
Mr. David Hume
Mr. John Swinton, Advocate
Dr. Alexander Stephenson
Mr. Patrick Murray, Advocate
Mr. Patrick Hume of Billie
Mr. Walter Stewart, Advocate
Mr. John Hume, Minister at Athelstanford
Mr. Robert Alexander
Mr. James Russel, Surgeon
Mr. George Cockburn, Advocate
Dr. David Clarke
Mr. George Brown, Advocate
Mr. William Robertson, Minister at Gladsmuir
Mr. John Fletcher
Mr. Alexander Agnew
Dr. John Hope
Sir David Dalrymple, Advocate
Mr. Gilbert Elliot, Advocate
Sir Harry Erskine
Mr. Hugh Blair, Minister
Mr. Andrew Stewart, Writer
June 12 Mr. Charles Fish Palmer
Mr. George Morison
Mr. George Dempster
June 19 Mr. Andrew Pringle
Mr. Alexander Monro
Mr. David Ross
Patrick Lord Elibank, Earl of Glasgow
Sir Alexander Dick
Mr. Robert Arbuthnot

Mr. Adam Fairholm
Capt. James Edmiston
Mr. George Maxwell
Mr. Charles Hamilton Gordon
Mr. James Ferguson
Mr. David Kennedy
Mr. John Dalrymple
Mr. Peter Duff (struck off by order of the society.)
Mr. Robert Murray
The Rev. Mr. Wallace
Mr. John Gordon
Mr. Alex. Maxwell
Mr. James Callendar
Mr. John Coutts
Mr. Wm. Tod
Mr. Wm. Wallace Jr.
Mr. Thomas Hogg
Mr. Thomas Miller
Mr. Robert Chalmers
Mr. John Grant
Capt. James Stewart
Sir John Stewart
Mr. James Guthrie
Mr. Charles Congalton
Mr. William Wilkie
Mr. John Monro
Capt. Robert Douglas
His Grace the Duke of Hamilton
Mr. Alex. Taitt
Mr. Geo. Chalmers
Colonel Oughton
Mr. John Adams
Lord Kaims
Mr. James Montgomery
Mr. David Dalrymple
Dr. Robert White
Mr. Geo. Kay, Minister of Edinburgh
Mr. George Muir
Mr. Geo. Clerk
Major Montgomery
Lord Deskford
Mr. Robert Berry
Dr. Adam Austin
Captain Morgan
Provost Drummond
The Earl of Lauderdale
Lord Auchinleck
Commissioner Udny
Mr. George Wiseheart
Lord Belhaven
Mr. Francis Garden

Mr. David Rae
Mansfield Cardonnel, Esq.
Ld. Aberdour
Mr. John Murray
Mr. William Tytler
Dr. Colin Drummond
Mr. Robert Dundas, Lord Advocate
Stamp Brooksbanks, Esq.
Mr. Wm. Nairne, Advocate
Mr. James Adams
Mr. Charles Erskine
Mr. Hugh Dalrymple
Mr. James Hay
Baron Areskine
Dr. John Stewart
Mr. John Clerk
Mr. John Macgowan
My Lord Galloway
Mr. John Graham
Mr. James Carmichael
Mr. Adam Ferguson
Mr. George Drummond

of Medical Philosophy

afternoon (at 4 o'clock.)

in Company with the Admiralty.

Ministers of the Church.

for Keynote.

Lord Anstruther.

to the House of Commons.

in the House of Commons.

in the House of Commons.

in the House of Commons.

APPENDIX 'C'

List of the Members of the Select Society, 17th October, 1759.¹

- Rev. John Jardine, Minister in Edinburgh
Francis Home, M. D.
Adam Smith, Professor of Ethics at Glasgow
Alexander Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Chancellor.)
Allan Ramsay (afterwards Painter to his Majesty.)
James Burnet, Advocate (afterwards Lord Monboddo.)
John Campbell, Advocate (afterwards Lord Stonefield.)
Rev. Alexander Carlyle, Minister at Inveresk
William Johnston, Advocate (afterwards Sir Wm. Pulteney.)
James Stevenson Rogers, Advocate
David Hume
John Swinton, Advocate (afterwards Lord Swinton.)
Patrick Murray, Advocate
Patrick Hume of Billy, Advocate
Alexander Stevenson, M. D.
Walter Stewart, Advocate
John Home, (Author of Douglas.)
Robert Alexander, Merchant
James Russell (afterwards Professor of Natural Philosophy.)
George Cockburn, Advocate
David Clerk, M. D.
George Brown (Lord Coalston.)
Rev. William Robertson, Minister in Edinburgh
John Fletcher (Gen. Fletcher Campbell.)
Alexander Agnew, Advocate
John Hope, M. D.
Sir David Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Lord Hailes.)
Gilbert Elliot, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.
Sir Harry Erskine, Bart.
Rev. Hugh Blair, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.
Andrew Stuart (afterwards M. P. for Weymouth.)
Charles Fysch Palmer.
George Morrison, Advocate
Andrew Pringle (Lord Aylemoor.)
Alexander Monro, Sen. M. D.
David Ross, Advocate (afterwards Lord Ankerville.)
Right Hon. Patrick Lord Elibank
Earl of Glasgow
Sir Alexander Dick, Bart.

1. This list of Members was sent to Dugal Stewart by Alexander Carlyle to be used in Stewart's Life of William Robertson. It appears in that work as an Appendix, (Note 'A' to page 165), on page 318 and following.

- Robert Arbuthnot (afterwards Secretary to the Board of Trustees for Manufactures Etc.)
Adam Fairholme, Merchant in Edinburgh
Major James Edmonstone
Charles Hamilton Gordon, Advocate
— James Fergusson of Pitfour, Jun., Advocate
— David Kennedy, Advocate (afterwards Earl of Cassillis.)
— John Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Baron of Exchequer.)
— Major Robert Murray (afterwards Sir Robert Murray.)
Rev. Robert Wallace, Minister in Edinburgh
John Gordon, Advocate.
Alexander Maxwell, Merchant in Edinburgh
John Coutts, Merchant in Edinburgh
William Tod, Merchant in Edinburgh
Thomas Millar (afterwards President of the Court of Session.)
Robert Chalmers
— Mr. Baron Grant
— Captain James Stewart
— Sir John Stewart, Advocate
James Guthrie, Merchant
Charles Congalton, Surgeon in Edinburgh
Rev. William Wilkie, Minister at Ratho
John Monro, Advocate
Captain Robert Douglas
Alexander Tait, Writer in Edinburgh
George Chalmers, Merchant in Edinburgh
— Colonel Oughton (afterwards Sir Adolphus Oughton.)
John Adam, Architect
Robert White, M. D.
Henry Home, (Lord Kames.)
James Montgomery, Advocate (afterwards Chief Baron of Exchequer.)
David Dalrymple, Advocate (afterwards Lord Westall.)
Rev. George Kay, Minister in Edinburgh
George Muir, Clerk of Justiciary
George Clerk (afterwards Sir George Clerk.)
— Lieut.-Col. Archibald Montgomery (afterwards Earl of Eglinton.)
Right Honourable Lord Deskfoord
Robert Berry, Advocate
Adam Austin, M. D.
Lieut.-Col. Morgan
George Drummond (Lord Provost of Edinburgh.)
The Earl of Lauderdale
Alexander Boswell (Lord Auchinleck.)
Alexander Udney, Commissioner of Excise
Rev. George Wishart, Minister in Edinburgh
— Right Honourable Lord Belhaven
— Francis Garden, Advocate (afterwards Lord Gardenstone.)
David Rae, Advocate (afterwards Lord Justice Clerk.)
Mansfield Cardonnel, Commissioner of Excise
Right Honourable Lord Aberdour
— John Murray of Philiphaugh, Advocate

- William Tytler, Writer to the Signet (Author of the Vindication of Queen Mary.)
- Colin Drummond, M. D.
- Robert Dundas (afterwards President of the Court of Sessions.)
- Stamp Brooksbanks
- William Nairne, Advocate (afterwards Lord Dunsinnan.)
- James Adam, Architect
- Captain Charles Erskine
- Hugh Dalrymple, Advocate (Author of Rondondo.)
- James Hay, Surgeon
- Mr. Baron Erskine (afterwards Lord Alva.)
- John Clerk (Author of Naval Tactics.)
- John Macgowan, Jun. Writer in Edinburgh
- Earl of Galloway
- John Graham of Dougaldston
- James Carmichael, Writer to the Signet
- Adam Fergusson (afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy.)
- George Drummond of Blair
- William Cullen, M. D.
- Ilay Campbell, Advocate (afterwards President of the Court of Session.)
- Alexander Murray, Advocate (afterwards Lord Henderland.)
- Rev. Robert Dick
- Right Honourable Lord Gray
- Earl of Errol
- James Dewar, Advocate
- Captain David Wedderburn
- Major James Dalrymple
- Archibald Hamilton, M. D.
- Andrew Cheap
- Andrew Crosbie, Advocate
- Earl of Aboyne
- Adam Fergusson, Advocate (afterwards Sir Adam Fergusson.)
- Earl of Selkirk
- John Turton
- Cosmo Gordon (afterwards one of the Barons of Exchequer.)
- Right Honourable Lord Gairlies
- Earl of Sutherland
- Captain Dougald Campbell
- Honourable George Ramsay, Advocate
- Earl of Roseberry
- Earl of Cassills
- William Graham, Advocate
- John Pringle of Crichton
- Right Honourable Charles Townshend
- George Wallace

APPENDIX 'C'

List of the St. Giles Society, 1st. Febry., 1763.
Taken from the MS. Minutes of the St. Giles or
Select Society of Edinburgh.

Mr. James Burnet, Advocate
Dr. Alexr. Carlyle
Mr. William Johnstone, Advocate
Mr. Patrick Murray, Advocate
John Home, Esquire
Mr. Robert Alexander, Merchant in Edinburgh
Mr. James Russel, Surgeon
Dr. William Robertson
Dr. Hugh Blair
Mr. Andrew Steuart
Mr. George Dempster, Advocate
Patrick Lord Elibank
Mr. Robert Arbuthnot, Merchant
Mr. James Fergusson, Advocate
Mr. Alexr. Tail, Clerk of Session
Mr. John Adams, Architect
George Clerk of Drumcrieff, Esq.
Mr. William Nairne, Advocate
Sir Adam Fergusson, Advocate
Mr. Ilay Campbell, Advocate
Dr. Robert Dick
Mr. James Dewar, Advocate
Mr. Andrew Crosby, Advocate
Mr. Adam Fergusson, Advocate
Mr. William Graham, Advocate
Dr. John Jardine
Mr. John Fordyce, Merchant
George Brown of Eddiston
Mr. Alexr. Wight, Advocate
Mr. James Boswell
Mr. Robert Malcolm
Mr. John Campbell, Advocate
Mr. James Stevenson Rogers, Advocate
Mr. John Swinton, Junr., Advocate
Mr. George Cockburn, Advocate
Mr. Alexr. Agnew, Advocate
Sir David Dalrymple, Advocate
Sir John Steuart, Advocate
Dr. Colin Drummond
Mr. John Clerk, Merchant in Edinburgh
Mr. John McGowan, Writer
The Right Honble. Ld. Galloway
Mr. James Carmichael, Writer

Mr. Alexr. Murray, Advocate
Mr. Cosmo Gordon, Advocate
Mr. George Wallace, Advocate
Mr. Wm. Alexander, Merchant
Mr. John Dalrymple, Advocate
Mr. David Ross, Advocate
Mr. John Pringle, Advocate
Col. David Wedderburn
Col. Robt. Murray Keith
Capt. Edgar
Mr. Patrick Home, Advocate
The Rev. Mr. Walker, Minister at Moffat
The Right Honble., Ld. Kelly
The Honble. Baron Grant
Dr. George Kay
Alexr. Maxwell, Esquire, Merchant
The Honble. Alexr. Gordon, Advocate

APPENDIX 'D'

Questions to be Debated in the Select Society.

Whether or not the practice of duelling be advantageous? - Debated.

Whether Divorces by mutual consent should be allowed? - Debated.

Whether the institution of Slavery be advantageous to the free? - Debated.

Whether Bounties on the exportation of corn be advantageous to Trade and Manufactures as well as to agriculture? - Debated.

Whether Corporations, and exclusive Companies for trade are advantageous to the Members of these corporations and companies?

Whether moderate taxes are a discouragement to trade, industry and manufactures?

Whether a general naturalization of foreign Protestants would be advantageous to Britain? - Debated.

Whether insuring the Enemies ships ought to be allowed in time of war? - Debated.

Whether an Union with Ireland would be advantageous to Great Britain? - Debated.

Whether the Laws against Bribery and corruption ought to be repealed? - Debated.

Whether the great Expence of lawsuits is of general advantage?

Whether Lotteries ought to be encouraged?

Whether eloquence be useful, and if useful, for what purpose? - Debated.

Whether it be more difficult for a Poet to excell in tragedy or in comedy? - Debated.

Whether the practice of the imitative arts be advantageous to a Nation? - Debated.

Whether the Provisions in the late marriage Act are advantageous to the Publick? - Debated.

Whether luxury be advantageous to any state? - Debated.

Whether whiskie ought not to be laid under such restraints, as to render the use of it less frequent? - Debated.

Whether the Numbers of Banks now in Scotland be useful to the trade of the country? And whether paper credit be advantageous to a nation? - Debated.

Whether the Bounty should be continued on the Exportation of low-priced Linens made in Scotland?

Whether the common practice in Scotland of distributing money to the poor in their own houses, or the receiving the poor into work houses and hospitals be most advantageous? - Debated.

Whether in the present Circumstances of this country, it be most advantageous to encrease tillage, or grass?

Whether Brutus did well in killing Caesar? - Debated.

Whether in the present Circumstances may the Progress of Intemperence, that usually becomes so remarkable (particularly among the vulgar) upon the increase of wealth, be retarded by the care of superiors?

May a Lawier of ordinary parts become eminent in his profession?

Whether it be advantageous to a Nation that the law of private property should be reduced to an Art?

Whether the Repenting Stool ought to be taken away? - Debated.

Whether Printing has been of advantage to Society? - Debated.

Whether the stage ought to be permitted in a well regulated government? - Debated.

Whether the Place given to love and gallantry in modern Tragedy be not unnatural?

Whether ought we to prefer ancient or modern manners with regard to the condition and Treatment of Women? - Debated.

Whether the Difference of national characters be chiefly owing to the nature of different climates, or to moral and political Causes? - Debated.

Whether is an Epic Poem, or a Tragedy the most difficult and most perfect Composition?

Whether have the moderns done well in laying aside the use of a chorus in Tragedy?

Whether is the Police of France consistent with the Libertys of Great Britain? - Debated.

Whether are the Tenures of Land Estates, by Entail in perpetuity, preferable, For the good of Familys and the Government of a country, to the more unlimited exercise of property and power of alienation? - Debated.

Whether an University in a Metropolis or in a remote Town be most proper for the plan of Education of (youth)? - Debated.

Whether a nation formed for war, or a nation formed for peace be most happy? - Debated.

Whether an Academy for painting set up in Scotland would deserve the encouragement of the publick?

Whether an Aristocracy most naturally changes into a Monarchy or a popular government?

Whether Capital punishment be the most proper method for restraining Theft? - Debated.

Can a Body Politick be virtuous as a Collective body?

Whether do we excell the ancients, or the ancients us, in knowledge & arts? - Debated.

Whether are the greatest efforts of genious made at the revival of letters after an age of Barbarism?

Whether the world has received most advantages from those who have been engaged in an active, or those who have lived a retired life? - Debated.

Whether a general Excise is not the best method of levying the publick Revenue? - Debated.

Whether any state had a Right to deny civil protection to the marriage of minors without consent of parents or guardians?
made

Whether the right of primogeniture ought still to take Place? - Debated.

Whether the Courts of Law ought to be allowed to judge in matters concerning the Election of Members of Parliament?

Whether Presentations by Patrons, or Election, is the best method of settling Ministers?

Whether the Liberty of the Press ought not to be restrained? - Debated.

Whether a standing Army, or a militia properly regulated, be most advantageous for Great Britain? - Debated.

Whether it is consistent with sound Politicks to allow British subjects to serve as mercernaries in foriegn service? - Debated.

Whether a nation once sunk in Luxury & pleasure can be retrieved & brought back to any degree of worth & excellence? - Debated.

Whether the decay of the language of a people be not a mark of the decay of arts & Sciences among that people?

Whether a democratical form of Government be not worse than any despotism?

Whether without any knowledge of the Grammatical Art, and with the use of speaking only, but not the Science, a man may not make very great progress in Metaphysics and every branch of Philosophy?

Whether without the study of the ancients, and by the strength of our own genius, with the assistance of modern authors, we may not arrive at the greatest degree of excellence in written composition?

Whether Milton be not a better poet than Virgil?

Doth the increase of Trade & manufactures naturally tend to promote the happiness of a Nation? - Debated.

Whether the paying off the National Debt would be of advantage to Britain? - Debated.

Whether a foundling hospital erected at Edinburgh, and supported chiefly by a tax laid upon old Batchelors would tend to the prosperity of Scotland? - Debated.

Do the Laws of Scotland relating to Coalliers and Salters promote the interest of this country?

Doth the growing power of a neighbouring nation authorize the committing of hostilities?

Would the Extirpation of the African Corsairs be of advantage to Europe?

Would nunneries without the vows be of advantage to Britain? - Debated.

Whether is the succession of females of advantage to the publick? - Debated.

Whether can a marriage be happy when the wife is of an understanding superior to that of the husband? - Debated.

Do the benefits which arise to the nation from its Colonies, exceed the detriment which the nation suffers by them? - Debated.

Whether doth Poetry, painting or Music produce the strongest effects on the Imagination? - Debated.

Whether is the Government of the City by a Court of Aldermen and Common Council, where all the magistrates continue during Life, preforable to one Annual or Trinial Election of Magistrates?

Whether is the Registering of Sailors to be Employed when necessary, a greater violation of Freedom than press Warrants are? - Debated.

Whether Soldiers and Sailors ought to be Engaged for Life, or for a certain number of years? - Debated.

Whether ought games, in imitation of the Olympic games, to be instituted? - Debated.

Whether was the ancient method of war more destructive to humane, kind, than the modern?

Whether ought virtue to be (always) Rewarded in Plays?

Whether doth an author feel more pleasure or pain?

Whether doth a Jealous husband feel most pleasure or pain?

Whether ought merchants to be prohibited from Trading to an Extent Exceeding a certain proportion to their Stock?

Whether hath mankind decreased in stature, strength and virtue during 3000 years?

Whether is hunting an exercise proper for persons of liberal Education? - Debated.

Whether ought the Swedish Law, which orders all Debts of Land Holders to be registered and the lands to be sold when the Debts Exceed two Thirds of the Estate, be received into Britain?

Whether have reasonings on abstract subjects been of most advantage to mankind?

Whether a despotic Monarchy or a republick of nearly the same number of inhabitants can be most easily conquered?

Whether has modern honour improved the human character? - Debated.

Whether is a Nation in a State of Barbarity, or a Nation of Luxury and refined manners, the happiest? - Debated.

Whether is a miser, or a Prodigal of the greatest use to Society? - Debated.

Whether the laws with regard to game ought to be repealed?

Whether Ridicule is a proper Test of Truth?

Whether the present institution of parochial Schools in Scotland be advantageous to the publick? - Debated.

Whether the modern method of improvement by making large Farms be not ruinous to the country? - Debated.

Whether the study of the Sciences and the fine Arts ought to be encouraged in a well regulated Society?

Whether in a well governed State there ought to be an Art or Science of Law?

Whether doth the strength and duration of a state depend most on the situation & manners of the Inhabitants or upon the form of government? - Debated.

Whether the modern improvements in mechanics, and the multiplying mechanical machines doth not tend to the depeopling the World?

Whether the strict principles of Virtue and Morality can be made consistent with commerce, or can be long preserved in a Commercial State?

Whether the confessed superiority of the ancients over the moderns is not a necessary consequence of our admiration of the ancients?

Whether is a landed interest or a Commercial interest most favorable to publick liberty? - Debated.

Whether doth a landed or a Commercial interest contribute most to the tranquillity and stability of a State? - Debated.

Whether the Importation of cattle from Ireland is advantageous to Britain? - Debated.

Whether from speculative principles, or from the nature and genius of a people the preference of one political system to another ought to be determined?

Whether greater National evils will be produced by the tyranny of a Prince, or the factions of a Republick? - Debated.

Whether the fine arts are most likely to flourish under a monarchical or a Republican form of Government?

Whether Tragedy or Comedy have the Greatest & best effects upon the Morals and Manners of Mankind?

Whether permitting the rich men in any state to have more than one wife would tend to its populousness?

Whether the study of Moral or Natural Philosophy is more usefull?

Whether a fine Taste is the Gift of Nature or the result of Experience, and may be acquired?

Whether Courage is natural to man?

Whether Labourers of the Ground or Manufactures make the best soldiers?

Whether the number of people in Great Britain has for these last twenty years been on the encrease or decline?

Whether Paper Credit tho' it circulate only at home does not hinder the encrease of money from abroad?

Whether the practice of the Ladies in painting their faces ought not to be prohibited by every wise government?

Whether Land Taxes are not more beneficial to the Public than Taxes on Commodities? - Debated.

Whether in a free country, any part of the Powers of Magistrates ought to be left undefined? - Debated.

Whether a law, prohibiting the Inhabitants of a country from leaving it, would be conducive to the populousness of that nation? - Debated.

Whether the abolishing of hereditary jurisdictions in Scotland be advantageous to the kingdom?

Whether there is any such thing as taste?

Whether a commercial and military spirit can subsist together in the same nation? - Debated.

Whether the Laws against Treason, whereby the Father forfeits not only for himself but his Children, be agreeable to equity, and useful to Society? - Debated.

Whether in the present state of Europe, a Nation might subsist without a standing Army?

Whether the manner of Trial by Juries in civil as well as criminal causes, would be of advantage to a country?

Whether would the mass of the People of Europe gain or lose more from universal Monarchy sprung from the dominion of the sea, than from that arising from the conquest of the land?

Of the two great members of the Constitution of G. Britain, the aristocratical and the democratical, which would be the most threatening to subvert its frame, was most power thrown into its frame?

Should the old laws for taxing the freeholders for the support of their Representatives during their attendance of Parliament be revived?

Would it hurt the Country to have the extraordinary Lords of Session revived?

Whether the Revival of the ancient custom of Adoption be advantageous or disadvantageous to Society?

Whether the Union of all our Colonies on the Continent of America would be of advantage to Britain and those colonies? - Debated.

Whether a nation may subsist without Public Spirit? /

Whether the true interest of Britain requires that we should always remain in amity with Holland?

Whether it would be of advantage to Society that the Women held places of Trust and profit in the State? - Debated.

Whether the institution of Convents and Nunneries is prejudicial to the population of a country?

Whether active or speculative life affords the most solid happiness?

Whether honours ought to be saleable?

Whether can an ambitious man be happy?

Whether would a perfect equality in the external condition of men be desireable?

Whether Peerages ought to be territorial?

Whether Quackery is not more useful for obtaining success in some of the liberal Professions than real merit?

Whether the delays and expence attending judicial proceedings are not both necessary and useful to Society?

Whether severe or moderate punishments have the greatest effect in preventing the commission of crimes? - Debated.

Whether discretionary powers ought to be allowed to Judges? - Debated.

Whether ought the youngest or the eldest child to inherit the estate of their fathers?

Whether the popular form of government be not of all forms the worst?

Whether a large or small Capital be of most advantage to a state? - Debated.

Whether the pursuit of Industry and Trade would produce good or bad effects upon the morals of a Nation? - Debated.

Edinburgh July 20, 1762. Whether our sending troops to the assistance of Portugal be expedient. - Debated.

APPENDIX 'E'

Discourses and Questions Debated in the

*

Belles Lettres Society.

January 26, 1759. Debated:- Whether the expectation or actual enjoyment of any object considered under the notion of good yields the most true Delight?¹

February 2, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Athenian or Lacedemonian Education was most eligible? Whether mankind have been happier since the Introduction of the arts or before the Invention of them?²

February 9, 1759. Debated:- Whether a great Town or a small one is the most proper place for an University?³

February 16, 1759. Debated:- Whether a good condition with the Fear of becoming ill, or a bad one with the hope of becoming well, please or displease most?

February 23, 1759. Debated:- What are the causes of the Decline of Eloquence in Modern Times, and what are the proper means to restore it?⁴ Whether the Blame of the second Punic war was upon the side of the Romans or Carthaginians?

March 2, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Characters of Nations depend most upon moral or physical causes?⁵

March 9, 1759. Debated:- Whether are entails advantageous or disadvantageous to this country?⁶

1. Debated also on August 1, 1760 and January 30, 1761. at Great

2. Debated also on June 20, 1760 and February 8, 1761.

3. Debated also on January 21, 1763.

4. See also the Discourse for November 25, 1763.

5. Debated also on January 9, 1761.

6. Debated also on March 30, 1759 and May 22, 1761.

* Compiled from the MS. records of the society now in the National Library of Scotland.

March 16, 1759. Debated:- Whether Trade and Commerce tend to promote Luxury or not?

March 23, 1759. Debated:- Whether a person in a solitary or social life has the best opportunity of improving in virtue?¹

March 30, 1759. Debated:- Whether are entails advantageous or disadvantageous to this country?²

April 6, 1759. Debated:- Whether a Bill allowing the Importation of Irish Cattle be of advantage or disadvantage to the Kingdom of Great Britain?

April 13, 1759. Debated:- Whether the present Constitution of Great Britain is most apt to degenerate into an absolute monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical form of Government?

April 20, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Stage in its present state is of advantage or disadvantage to society?³

April 27, 1759. Debated:- Whether Learning flourishes most in an absolute or limited Monarchy?

May 4, 1759. Debated:- Whether Poetry, Painting, Music, Statuary or Eloquence tend most to improve or corrupt the morals of mankind?⁴

May 11, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Clergy should be allowed to have any management in Civil Affairs?

May 18, 1759. Debated:- Whether a Nation can arrive at the highest Grandeur by trade and commerce or by war?⁵

May 25, 1759. Debated:- Whether a general national Militia would be of advantage or disadvantage to the Kingdom of Great Britain?

June 1, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Union of the two crowns of Scotland and England and that of the two Kingdoms has been of advantage or Disadvantage to Scotland?

1. Debated also on July 25, 1760.

2. Debated also on March 9, 1759, and May 22, 1761.

3. Debated also February 11, 1763.

4. Debated also March 28, 1760.

5. Debated also on July 18, 1760. See also the Discourse given on February 5, 1762.

June 8, 1759. Debated:- Whether or not Brutus did right in killing Caesar?¹

June 15, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Liberty of the Press is of advantage or disadvantage to a free State?²

June 22, 1759. Mr. Stewart pronounced an Oration the subject of which was Self Love and its effects.³

Debated:- Whether Excise Laws are prejudicial to Great Britain?

June 29, 1759. Mr. Stevenson pronounced an oration upon the Passions and affections of the mind.

Debated:- Whether Commerce and the Arts depending upon it have been of Advantage to mankind?⁴

July 6, 1759. Mr. Cuming delivered a discourse in which he traced the Progress of Eloquence in Greece and in Rome downwards to the days of Cicero.⁵

Debated:- Whether those who enjoy Pensions or Places during Pleasure or for a set number of years should be allowed to sit and vote in the House of Commons?

July 13, 1759. Mr. Douglas delivered a funerall Elogium on a Gentleman lately deceased.

Debated:- Whether a Monarchy or a Republic are by their Nature best Calculated for Duration?⁶

July 20, 1759. Mr. Douglas delivered a Discourse on the nature and Design of the Theatre.⁶

Debated:- Whether ought any person capable of exercising a lawful Employment to be hindered from following that by Corporations?

July 27, 1759. Mr. Hamilton delivered a Discourse on the Immortality of the Soul.

Debated:- Whether it is for the Advantage of Great Britain to allow her subjects to serve as Mercenaries abroad?

1. Debated also on February 8, 1760 and March 2, 1764.

2. Debated also on March 21, 1760.

3. See also the debated question of November 27, 1761.

4. See also the Discourse given on February 16, 1764.

5. Debated also on February 22, 1760.

6. A Discourse on this same subject was given on December 2, 1763.

August 3, 1759. Mr. Douglas (gave)...a Discourse on the rise and progress of Poetry.

Debated:- Whether the Invention of Gun-powder has been of Advantage to the world?

August 10, 1759. Mr. Stevenson delivered a Discourse upon Education.

Debated:- Whether it would be right to pass a Law extending the Royalty of the City of Edinburgh over any part of the adjacent country?

August 17, 1759. James Dunbar, Esq. delivered a Discourse on the Advantages of peace.

Debated:- Whether the growing Power of a neighbouring state authorizes the committing of hostilities?

November 16, 1759. Debated:- Whether poetry painting or music affect the mind in the most lively manner or move most the passions?¹

November 23, 1759. Mr. Douglas (gave a discourse) the subject of which was Eloquence.²

Debated:- Whether Enthusiasm or Superstition are the most dangerous Extremes in Religion?

November 30, 1759. Mr. Govane delivered a Discourse upon Eloquence.²

Debated:- From what principle in human nature can the pleasure arising from inhuman spectacles be accounted for?

December 7, 1759. Mr. Spottiswoode delivered a Discourse on the Rise Progress and effects of commerce.

Debated:- Whether the Philosopher the Poet or the Orator have been the best instructors of mankind or the best members of a state?³

December 14, 1759. Debated:- Whether avarice or Ambition are the predominant passions in the human mind?

December 21, 1759. Mr. Dickson delivered a Discourse on knowledge of the world and Mr. Mackenzie delivered a Discourse on the rise and Progress of Learning in Great Britain.

Debated:- Whether the arts and sciences have been carried to the greatest Degree of Perfection by the ancients or moderns?

1. Debated also on January 25, 1760 and February 12, 1762.

2. Discourses also on November 23 and 30, 1759, January 4, 1760, December 19, 1760, and March 27, 1761.

3. Debated also on December 7, 1764 and July 4, 1760.

December 28, 1759. Debated:- Whether the Conduct of the Romans in ravishing the Sabine Women can be reconciled with the principles of Honour and Justice?

January 4, 1760. Mr. Cumin delivered a Discourse on the Eloquence of the Moderns.¹

Debated:- Whether it is most useful to study men or books?

January 11, 1760. Mr. Grant this night delivered a discourse on self conceit.

Debated:- Whether the Revival of adoptions would be of advantage to the world?

January 18, 1760. Debated:- Whether it be agreeable to the principles of Humanity and Christianity that any of the Human Species should be made slaves.²

January 25, 1760. Mr. Douglas delivered a discourse on Patriotism Exemplified in the life and Conduct of Sir William Wallace.

Debated:- Whether Poetry painting music move the passions most or affect the mind in the most lively manner?³

February 1, 1760. Mr. Stewart this night delivered a Speech in the Character of Hannibal to Prusias King of Bythinia.

Debated:- Whether it is agreeable or repugnant to equity that Eloquence be practiced in Courts of Justice?⁴

February 8, 1760. Mr. Hamilton delivered a Discourse on the Eloquence of the Barr.

Debated:- Whether Brutus did right in Killing Caesar?⁵

February 15, 1760. Mr. Balfour delivered a Panegyrick on the late Major Wolfe and Mr. Dickson a Dissertation on Love.

Debated:- Whether the Arts and Polite Literature have been carried to the greatest degree of Perfection by the British or French?

1. Discourses on this subject were delivered on November 23, 1759, November 30, 1759, December 19, 1760, and March 27, 1761.

2. Debated also on February 5, 1762.

3. Debated also on November 16, 1759, and February 12, 1762.

4. Debated also on December 19, 1760, December 10, 1762, and given as a Discourse on February 8, 1760.

5. Debated also on June 8, 1759 and March 2, 1764.

February 22, 1760. Mr. Stevenson pronounced a Discourse on the Passions.¹
Debated:- Whether a monarchy or a Republick are by their nature best calculated for Duration?²

February 29, 1760. Mr. Spottiswoode delivered a Discourse on Civil Liberty.
Debated:- Whether severe or moderate punishments most effectually restrain crimes?³

March 7, 1760. Mr. McKenzie delivered a Comparison betwixt Caesar and Cromwell.
Debated:- Whether Virginius did right in killing his Daughter?⁴

March 21, 1760. Mr. Cumin pronounced a Speech in the Character of Brutus to the Conspirators.
Debated:- Whether the Liberty of the Press is of advantage to a free State?⁵

March 28, 1760. Mr. Stewart delivered a discourse on the Origin of Civil Government and Mr. Rose a Dissertation on the Connection of Taste and Judgment.
Debated:- Whether Poetry painting (musick statuary and Eloquence) tend to Improve or corrupt the Morals of mankind?⁶

April (4), 1760. Mr. Dundas delivered a Discourse on Religious Liberty.
Debated:- Whether Prescription is contrary to Natural Equity?

April 11, 1760. Mr. Hepburn delivered a Discourse on Patriotism.
Debated:- Whether a Nation once sunk in Luxury and Effeminacy can ever arrive att its former worth and Excellency?⁷

1. Given as a Discourse also on December 18, 1761. the advantages

2. Debated also on July 13, 1759. ^{History} ^{Prophecy of the Poet or the orator}

3. Debated also on January 23, 1761. ^{sciences?}

4. Debated also on January 16, 1761.

5. Debated also on June 15, 1759. ^{debated on 1759.}

6. Debated also on May 4, 1759.

7. Debated also on February 19, 1762.

^{Given as a Discourse on January 21, 1762 and January 21, 1763.}

^{Debated on January 21, 1760.}

April 18, 1760. (The question from the last meeting continued.)

April 25, 1760. Mr. Sinclair delivered a discourse on Rash vows.
Debated:- Whether critics have been of most advantage or prejudice to Learning?¹

May (9), 1760. Mr. Cockburn delivered a discourse on the propriety of mixing Love in Tragedy.
Debated:- Whether the Institution of Slavery is of advantage to the free?

May (16), 1760. Mr. Pringle delivered a discourse on Publick Spirit.²
Debated:- Whether the Custom of Travelling is in general advantageous?

May 23, 1760. Debated:- Whether Civil Military or Ecclestial Employments are most honourable in a free state?

May 30, 1760. Debated:- Whether Liberty may be defended by actions in themselves bad?

June 6, 1760. Debated:- Whether Prosperity or Adversity is the most trying state for virtue?³

June 13, 1760. Debated:- Whether it is more for the advantage of society that condemned criminals should be employed in publick work rather than put to death or banished?^{or}

June 20, 1760. Mr. Brainer delivered a discourse on gratitude.
Debated:- Whether mankind has been happier since the Introduction of the arts or before the introduction of them?

June 27, 1760. Mr. Robert Hepburn delivered a discourse on the Preeminence of History over Imitative poetry.
Debated:- Whether it would not be better for this Nation that the Lower Class of mankind were neither allowed to read or write?⁴

July 4, 1760. Mr. Grame delivered a discourse on the advantages derived from the study of History.⁵
Debated:- Whether the Philosopher or the Poet or the orator have been most usefull to Society?⁶

1. Debated also on July 11, 1760.

2. Given as a Discourse also on November 21, 1760.

3. Debated also on February 20, 1761.

4. Debated also on February 13, 1761

5. Given as a Discourse also on May 8, 1761 and January 21, 1763.

6. Debated also on December 7, 1759 and December 7, 1764.

July 11, 1760. Mr. Cullen delivered a Discourse upon the influence of Manners above Laws.¹

Debated:- Whether critics have been of the most service or prejudice to Learning?²

July 18, 1760. Debated:- Whether a nation can arrive att the highest Grandeur by Commerce or by war?³

July 25, 1760. Debated:- Whether society or solitude are the most proper schools for virtue and knowledge?⁴

August 1, 1760. Debated:- Whether the expectation or actual Enjoyment of any object considered under the notion of Good yields the most true Delight?⁵

August 8, 1760. Debated:- Whether the greatest National Evils are produced by the Tyranny of a Prince or by the faction of of a Republic?⁶

November 14, 1760. Debated:- Whether the influence of manners is above Laws or the influence of Laws above manners?⁷

November 21, 1760. Mr. Douglas pronounced a Discourse...upon the Influence of Publick spirit.⁸

Debated:- Whether Laws have an Influence over Manners or Manners over Laws?⁹

1. Given as a Discourse also on December 12, 1760 and January 22, 1762.- Debated also on November 14 and November 21, 1760, and December 18, 1761.

2. Debated also on April 25, 1760.

3. Given as a Discourse also on February 5, 1762. Debated also on May 18, 1759.

4. Debated also on March 23, 1759.

5. Debated also on January 26, 1759 and January 30, 1761.

6. Debated also on February 17, 1764.

7. Discoursed on July 11, 1760, December 12, 1760, and January 22, 1762. Debated on November 21, 1760 and December 18, 1761.

8. Given as a Discourse also on May 16, 1760.

9. Discoursed on July 11, 1760, December 12, 1760, and January 22, 1762. Debated November 14, 1760 and December 18, 1761.

November 28, 1760. Debated:- Whether Arts and Sciences flourish more in an absolute or free Government?

December 5, 1760. Mr. Balfour delivered a Discourse on Study.
Debated:- Whether address to the imagination or understanding has the greatest influence upon mankind?

December 12, 1760. Mr. Buchan delivered a Discourse on the prevalence of Manners over Laws.¹
Debated:- Whether the Tyranny of a prince or the factions of a Republic produce the greatest national evils?²

December 19, 1760. Mr. Campbell delivered a Discourse on Eloquence.³
Debated:- Whether it be agreeable to the Laws of Equity that Eloquence should be practised in Courts of Justice?⁴

January 9, 1761. Debated:- Whether the Character of Nations depends more upon Physical or Moral and Political causes?⁵

January 16, 1761. Debated:- Whether Virginius did well in killing his daughter?⁶

January 23, 1761. Mr. D. Grant...gave a Discourse upon Impudence.
Debated:- Whether severe or moderate punishments tend most to restrain Crimes?

January 30, 1761. Mr. Urquhart gave a Discourse on Friendship.
Debated:- Whether anticipation or enjoyment afford most delight?⁸

1762

1. Discoursed on July 11, 1760 and January 22, Debated on November 14, 1760, November 21, 1760, and December 18, 1761.
2. Debated also on August 8, 1760 and February 17, 1764.
3. Given as a Discourse on November 23, 1759, November 30, 1759, January 4, 1760, and March 27, 1761.
4. Debated also on December 10, 1762 and February 1, 1760. Given as a Discourse on February 8, 1760.
5. Debated also on March 2, 1759.
6. Debated also on March 7, 1760.
7. Debated also on February 29, 1760.
8. Debated also on January 26, 1759 and August 1, 1760.

February 8, 1761. Debated:- Whether mankind have been happier since the Introduction of arts and sciences or before the Invention of them?¹

February 13, 1761. Debated:- Whether it would not be better for this country that the lower class of Mankind could neither read nor write?²

February 20, 1761. Mr. Robertson delivered a Discourse on Honour and Mr. Fleeming one upon Ambition.
Debated:- Whether Prosperity or adversity is the most trying state for virtue?³

February 26, 1761. Debated:- Whether the repentance stool should be taken away?

March 6, 1761. Debated:- Whether Polite or Mechanical Arts have been of most advantage to Mankind?

March 20, 1761. Debated:- Whether Horatius should have suffered Death for killing his sister?⁴

March 27, 1761. Mr. Hog delivered a discourse on Eloquence.⁵
Debated:- Whether in a free country any part of the power of a Magistrate ought to be left undefined?

April 3, 1761. Mr. Brown delivered a discourse on the love of our country.
Debated:- Whether a theatre should be allowed in the Neighbourhood of an University?

April 10, 1761. Mr. Chalmers delivered a discourse, on the necessity and utility of Gentlemen of Fortune studying Law.
Debated:- Whether, abstracting from all regard to futurity a virtuous or vicious course of life is most eligible?⁶

1. Debated also on February 2, 1759 and June 20, 1760.

2. Debated also on June 27, 1760.

3. Debated also on June 6, 1760.

4. Debated also on February 4, 1763.

5. Given as a Discourse on November 23, 1759, November 30, 1759, January 4, 1760, December 19, 1760.

6. Given as a Discourse also on February 19, 1762.

April 17, 1761. Mr. Lothian delivered a discourse on the Comparative merit of Tragedy and Comedy.

Debated:- Whether a Marriage can be happy where the Wife is of an understanding superior to the Husband?

April 24, 1761. Debated:- Is popular esteem any test of merit?

May 1, 1761. Debated:- Whether is the reading and writing of Romances to be discouraged?¹

May 8, 1761. Mr. Achyndachy sat as President in Course: and entertained the Society with a discourse on "the great advantages resulting to different ranks of Mankind from the Study of History?"² Mr. Blair also gave a discourse on "Simplicity and refinement in Writing."

Debated:- Whether do the Tragedies which end happily or those which end unhappily convey most pleasure and improvement to the audience?

May 15, 1761. Debated:- Whether the profession of a Lawyer has done most good or hurt to Society?

May 22, 1761. Mr. Duncan favoured the Society with a discourse showing the unhappy consequences which follow the indulging in Sensual pleasure, and particularly the hinderance it throws in the way to Intellectual Improvement.

Debated:- Whether it is agreeable to equity that a successor should be limited in the disposition of his property by the Will of his predecessor?³

May 29, 1761. Mr. Hamilton...deliver(ed) his discourse "on the mistakes in judging of characters."

Debated:- Whether in a Military Nation the practice of Duelling might not in some cases be permitted?⁴

November 27, 1761. Debated:- Whether self Love be the sole principle of all our Actions?⁵

December 4, 1761. Mr. Elphinston delivered a Discourse on Envy.

Debated:- Whether the man of strong passions or of weak passions is the most happy?

1. Debated also on March 11, 1763.

2. Given as Discourses on July 4, 1760 and January 21, 1763.

3. Debated also on March 9, 1759.

4. Debated also on January 28, 1763 and February 10, 1764.

5. Given as a Discourse on June 22, 1759.

December 11, 1761. Mr. Walter Campbel gave a Discourse on Courage.
Debated:- Whether Ingratitude should be punished by the Civil Magistrates?

December 18, 1761. Mr. Cooper gave a discourse on the Happiness and Misery derived from the Passions.¹
Debated:- Whether the influence of Laws is above Manners, or the influence of Manners above Laws?²

January 8, 1762. Mr. Somerville gave a discourse on Benevolence.
Debated:- Whether are men most excited to action by the hope or reward, or fear of punishment?

January 15, 1762. Mr. Lockhart gave a discourse on the necessity of the Improvement of Commerce, Agriculture, and the increase of the Inhabitants in the Kingdom of Scotland.
Debated:- Whether Women ought to be taught the sciences?

January 22, 1762.³ Lord Cardross delivered his Discourse on Laws and Manners.
Debated:- Whether the Character of Cato or Atticus is most excellent?

January 29, 1762. Mr. Stevenson delivered his discourse on the System of the Stoic Philosophy.
Debated:- Whether a Foundling hospital be of Advantage to a Nation?

February 5, 1762. Mr. Spottiswoode Delivered his Discourse on the Advantages of a Commercial State over a Warlike Nation.⁴
Debated:- Whether it be agreeable to the principles of Humanity and Christianity that any of the Human-Species should be made Slaves?⁵

1. Given as a Discourse also on February 22, 1760.

2. Discourses on this subject were given on July 11, 1760, December 12, 1760, and January 22, 1762. It was debated on November 14 and November 21, 1760.

3. Discourses on this subject were also given on July 11, 1760 and December 12, 1760. It was debated on November 14 and 21, 1760, and December 18, 1761.

4. Debated also on May 18, 1759 and July 18, 1760.

5. Debated also on January 18, 1760. and Dec 18, 1760. Given

on January 18, 1760.

Given a Discourse on July 11, 1760 and Dec 12, 1760.

Debated on November 14 and 21, 1760.

February 12, 1762. Mr. Cockburn Delivered his Discourse on Avarice and Prodigality Demonstrating that the Tendency of the Latter was of the most Dangerous Consequences to Society. Debated:- Whether Poetry, Painting, or Music affect the mind in the most lively manner?¹

February 19, 1762. Mr. Sinclair delivered his Discourse proving that without the Consideration of a future state a virtuous Life is most eligible.² Debated:- Whether a nation once sunk in Luxury and Effeminacy can ever arrive att its former power and Grandeur?³

February 26, 1762. Mr. Pringle gave a discourse proving that the Interests of the people should be preferred to that of the King. Debated:- Should Polygamy be Tolerated?⁴

March 12, 1762. Debated:- Att what period of Life are we most happy?

December 3, 1762. Debated:- Whether by the law of nature females were entittled to equal Succession with males?

December 10, 1762. Debated:- Whether Eloquence ought to be practised in Courts of Justice?⁵

December 16, 1762. Debated:- Whether divorces by mutual consent ought to be allowed?

January 14, 1763. Mr. Buchan gave a Discourse on the progress of arts and sciences. Debated:- Whether ought Regulus to have broke his word to the Carthaginians?

January 21, 1763. Mr. Balfour gave a Discourse on the advantages arising from the Study of History.⁶ Debated:- Whether a University in a Metropolis or in a Remote part of the Country is most properly situated for Education?⁷

1. Debated also on November 16, 1759 and January 25, 1760.

2. Debated also on April 10, 1761.

3. Debated also on April 11, 1760.

4. Debated also on, December 14, 1764.

5. Debated also on February 1, 1760 and December 19, 1760. Given as a Discourse on February 8, 1760.

6. Given as Discourses on July 4, 1760 and May 8, 1761.

7. Debated also on February 9, 1759.

January 28, 1763. Debated:- Ought duelling to be Permitted?¹

February 4, 1763. Debated:- Should Horatius have suffered death for killing his sister?²

February 11, 1763. Mr. Cullen delivered his Discourse on this question, "Whether in painting the Painter or Connoisseur or the Unexperienced Spectator is the most accurate judge?" Debated:- Whether the Stage is of advantage or disadvantage to Society?³

February 18, 1763. Mr. Brown gave his Discourse on this question, "Whether a publick or private Education is best?" Debated:- Whether the right of primogeniture respecting Succession both to Honour and Lands be natural and proper?

February 25, 1763. Mr. Duncan gave his discourse on Ambition. Debated:- Whether a Law allowing the General naturalization of foreigners would be of advantage to the Kingdom?

March 11, 1763. Debated:- Should Reading and writting of Romances be Encouraged?⁴

November 25, 1763. Mr. Blair delivered his Discourse upon the causes of the decline of Eloquence in modern times.⁵ Debated:- Whether the Laws against Treason whereby the Father forfeits Not only for himself but for his children be agreeable to Equity and usefull for Society?⁶

December 2, 1763. Mr. Dick delivered his Discourse on Dramatical performances.⁷ Debated:- Whether the open Easy and Sincere or the Crafty Politick and Disembling Character is the best fitted to succeed in the world?

1. Debated also on May 29, 1761 and February 10, 1764.

2. Debated also on March 20, 1761.

3. Debated also on April 20, 1759.

4. Debated also on May 1, 1761.

5. Debated also on February 23, 1759.

6. Debated also on February 3, 1764.

7. Given as a Discourse also on July 20, 1759.

December 9, 1763. Debated:- Whether is it most for the advantage of Religion that the Clergy should have great or Small Stipends?

December 16, 1763. Debated:- Whether the Invention of money has been most Commodious or pernicious to mankind?

December 23, 1763. Debated:- Whether it be for the advantage of Scotland to have the marriage act extended to this part of the kingdome?

January 20, 1764. Mr. Warden Delivered his Discourse on The Necessity of a Religion to the Support and Welfare of Society.
Debated:- Whether a Landed or Commercial Interest is most favourable to publick Liberty?

January 28, 1764. Debated:- Would it not be better that Civil Causes were tried by a Jury?

February 3, 1764. Debated:- Whether the Laws against Treason whereby the father forfeits Not only for himself but for his children be agreeable to Equity and usefull for Society?¹

February 10, 1764. Mr. Somervel delivered his Discourse this night on Pride.
Debated:- Ought Duelling to be permitted?²

February 17, 1764. Mr. Cooper Delivered his Discourse this night on the advantage of Commerce.³
Debated:- Whether the greatest national Evils are produced by the Tyranny of a Prince or by the factions of a Republic?⁴

February 24, 1764. Debated:- Whether is the ancient or modern Treatment of women preferable?

March 2, 1764. Debated:- Whether Brutus did right in Killing Caesar?⁵

1. Debated also on November 25, 1763.

2. Debated also on May 29, 1761 and January 28, 1763.

3. Debated also on June 29, 1759.

4. Debated also on August 8, 1760 and December 12, 1760.

5. Debated also on June 8, 1759 and February 8, 1760.

December 7, 1764. Debated:- Whether the Philosopher, the Orator,
or the Poet have been most usefull to Society?¹

December 14, 1764. Debated:- Whether Polygamy ought to be Toller-
ated?²

1. Debated also on December 7, 1759 and July 4, 1760.

2. Debated also on February 26, 1762.

APPENDIX 'F'

A List of Members and Visitors to the Belles Lettres Society
Compiled from the Manuscript Records of the Society.

Honorary Members.¹

Created Honorary
Member on -

Rev. Hugh Blair	May 8, 1760
Lord Cardross	Dec. 11, 1761
The Rev. John Chalmers, D. D. Minister at Kilconquhar	Feb. 10, 1762
Mr. Andrew Crosbie, Advocate	Jan. 18, 1764
Dr. William Cullen	Nov. 14, 1760
Mr. Dick (Alexander Dick, Prof. of Civil Law.)	April 3, 1760
Adam Ferguson, Professor of Experimental Philosophy	June 6, 1760
Rev. Dr. Fordyce	June 6, 1760
John Hope, D. M.	June 20, 1760
David Hume, Esq.	June 6, 1760
John Hume	June 6, 1760
The Rev. John Main, Minister at Athelstaneford	Mar. 10, 1762
The Rev. Joseph McCormick	May 13, 1761
Mr. Alexander Murray, Advocate	Feb. 15, 1760
The Rev. Dr. Robertson	Apr. 25, 1760

1. Many of these men first appeared in the Society as visitors, see list of visitors.

Honorary Membership was also granted to many Ordinary Members who had attended the Society for two years, see list of Ordinary Members.

Created Honorary
Member on -

Mr. David Ross, younger of Inverhasty, one of the
Principal Clerks of Session. Jan. 18, 1764

Mr. John Runnels of America, Phil. Doct. June 20, 1760

John Stevenson, Professor of Logic May 8, 1760

Mr. Wm. Wallace, Advocate Apr. 25, 1760

Ordinary Members.

Robert Aberdeen admitted February 10, 1764.

Achyndacy admitted January 16, 1761.

Andrew Balfour, Esq. admitted February 23, 1759; made Honorary
Member December 8, 1762, later resigned to
become an Ordinary Member again.

(William Ballantyne) his petition for membership was accepted in
1763, but he did not take his seat in the
society.

Blair admitted January 16, 1761.

John Bonar petitioned for membership four times, finally
accepted March 11, 1763.

John Braimer or Brymer
Esq. admitted March 2, 1759; extruded June 29,
1759, but later readmitted.

Mr. Charles Brown admitted December 12, 1760; made Honorary
Member December 8, 1762, later resigned to
become an Ordinary Member again.

Colin Campbell admitted April 18, 1760; extruded March 12,
1762.

Walter Campbell founding member; extruded for non-attendance
March 2, 1759, but readmitted March 20, 1761;
again extruded December 10, 1762.

Patrick Chalmers admitted December 19, 1760; made an Honorary
Member January 12, 1763.

Clark admitted January 20, 1764.

Cochran admitted January 20, 1764.

Archibald Cockburn, Student of Law	admitted March 28, 1760; extruded March 9, 1763, but readmitted November 16, 1763; made an Honorary Member but later resigned to become an Ordinary Member again.
Mr. George Cooper, Student of Law	admitted December 11, 1761.
Patrick Crawford, Esq.	admitted January 14, 1763.
Mr. Cullen	first appears as a member June 20, 1760; made an Honorary Member but later resigned to become an Ordinary Member.
Mr. Patrick Cumin	admitted June 22, 1759; made as Honorary Member December 9, 1761.
Mr. William Dick, Student of Law	admitted February 13, 1761.
James Dickson, Esq.	admitted February 23, 1759; made Honorary Member December 8, 1762.
James Sholto Douglas	founding member; made an Honorary Member February 11, 1761.
The Hon. Arthur Duff, Esq.	admitted March 23, 1759.
Keith Dunbar	admitted March 16, 1759; extruded December 14, 1759.
James Dunbar, Esq.	admitted March 16, 1759.
Mr. James Dunbar, Student of Divinity.	admitted January 14, 1763.
George Duncan, Esq.	admitted March 9, 1759.
Henry Dundas, Esq. Student of Civil Law	admitted March 21, 1760; made an Honorary Member March 10, 1762, but later resigned to become an Ordinary Member again.
Elphinstone	admitted January 16, 1761.
Thomas Fairholm, Esq.	admitted April 3, 1760.
Alexander Ferguson	admitted March 11, 1763.
James Stewart Fleming	admitted May 25, 1760; made an Honorary Member December 8, 1762.
Gillespie, Esq.	admitted February 2, 1759; extruded June 1, 1759.

William Gordon	admitted November 25, 1763.
William Govane	founding member; extruded February 1, 1760; readmitted June 6, 1760.
Patrick Graeme	appears as a member June 13, 1760; made an Honorary Member December 8, 1762.
Mr. Donald Grant	admitted November 30, 1759.
The Rev. Mr. James Grant	founding member; made an Honorary Member July 13, 1759.
Rt. Hon. Lord Grevile	admitted December 8, 1762.
Robert Hepburn, Esq.	admitted April 18, 1760.
Mr. Archb. Hamilton, Student of Physic	admitted February 15, 1761.
John Hamilton, Esq.	admitted February 16, 1759; Secretary to the society from August 1759 to January 1760.
William Hepburn	admitted March 21, 1760.
Thomas Hogg	petition for membership accepted August 1, 1760.
Charles Hunter, Esq.	admitted January 19, 1759; Secretary to the society until August 1759; extruded January 4, 1760.
Austin Leigh	admitted January 14, 1763.
Charles Lockhart, Student of Law	admitted December 11, 1761; extruded March 14, 1764.
Mr. William Lothian	admitted January 9, 1761; made an Honorary Member January 12, 1763.
Charles Mackenzie	admitted April 13, 1759; Secretary to the society from January 11, to the 2nd Friday in July, 1760; made an Honorary Member February 10, 1762.
McLeod	admitted March 11, 1763.
Archibald Ogilvie	admitted May 8, 1760; extruded March 22, 1761.
Pringle	admitted January 20, 1764.

John Pringle	founding member.
John Pringle, Student of Law	admitted April 3, 1760; made an Honorary Member later resigned to become an Ordinary Member again; extruded March 9, 1763.
Robert Robertson, Student of Law	admitted April 25, 1760.
Thomas Robins or Robbins	founding member; extruded April 13, 1759; readmitted June 6, 1760; left Edinburgh March 27, 1761.
Mr. James Rose	admitted February 8, 1760.
John Seton	petition for membership accepted March 14, 1764.
Robert Sinclair, Student of Law	admitted April 3, 1760; resigned March 9, 1763; reinstated November 16, 1763; made an Honorary Member but resigned later to become an Ordinary Member again.
Andrew Smith	admitted May 11, 1759; expelled May 25, 1759, for "behaviour inconsistent with the Decency and Decorum, hitherto observed in this society."
Thomas Somerville, Student of Divinity	admitted December 11, 1761.
John Spottiswoode, Esq.	admitted March 30, 1759; Secretary to the society from July 4, 1760 to April 8, 1761; again from February 10, 1762 for an indeterminate period; made an Honorary Member on February 10, 1762.
Alexander Stevenson, Esq.	admitted March 9, 1759; made an Honorary Member on March 10, 1762.
Thomas Stewart, Esq.	admitted May 18, 1759; made an Honorary Member on December 9, 1761; resigned to become an Ordinary Member again.
Wm. Urquhart	admitted April 18, 1760; made an Honorary Member on January 12, 1763.
Mr. John Warden	admitted May 15, 1761.
James Watson, Esq.	admitted April 18, 1760; extruded May 22, 1761.

Visitors.

<u>Name.</u>	<u>Date of Meeting</u>
Mr. John Runnels of the Province of Holland (?)	Mar. 7, 1760
Mr. John Pringle, Student of Law	Mar. 21, 1760
Mr. George Buchan, Student of Law	Mar. 28, 1760
Mr. Robert Dick, Professor of Civil Law	Apr. 3, 1760
Mr. William Wallace, Advocate, Professor of History	Apr. 18, 1760
The Rev. Dr. Robertson	Apr. 25, 1760
The Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair	May 8, 1760
David Hume, Esq.	May 15, 1760
The Rev. Mr. Carlyle	do.
The Rev. Dr. Alex Carlyle, Minister at Inveresk	May 25, 1760
The Rev. Mr. Spence, Minister at the Wemyss	do.
The Rev. Mr. Joseph McCormack, Minister at Thelmeny	do.
The Rev. Mr. McDowall, Minister at Mackertoun	do.
Mr. Adam Ferguson, Professor of Natural Philosophy	May 30, 1760
The Rev. & Hon. Mr. Bruce of Baliol College Oxon.	do.
The Rev. Mr. Turnbull, Minister at Borthwick	do.
The Rev. Mr. Mark, Minister of Haddington	do.
The Rev. Mr. Cloag, Minister at Cockpen	do.
The Rev. Mr. Murray, Minister at Aberny (?)	do.
The Rev. Mr. Murray, Minister at North Berwick	do.
Dr. Jas. Fordyce, late at Aloa	do.
The Rev. Mr. Carlyle	do.
The Rev. Mr. McCormack	do.
The Rev. Mr. Rippard (?)	do.
Mr. John Home, late at Elsonford	do.
Dr. Cullen	June 6, 1760
Proff. Fergusson	do.
Mr. Cloage (?)	do.
Mr. Anthony Ferguson	do.
Jas. Boswell, Esqr.	do.
Mr. Fitzmaurice	July 11, 1760
Mr. Thomas Crombie, from Cambridge	Aug. 1, 1760
Mr. Francis Home, from Cambridge	do.
The Rev. Mr. Laurie, Minister at Hawick	Nov. 21, 1760
Mr. Geo. Bethune	do.

Name and Date
of Meeting

November 28, 1760
Mr. Robt McClellan

December 12, 1760
The Hon. Lord Gravel
Mr. Spearman
Mr. Couper
Mr. Swinton
Mr. Barclay

December 19, 1760
Mr. Gilchrist
Mr. Carlisle

January 9, 1761
Mr. Duff, Advocate
Mr. Crosbie, Advocate
Mr. Hog, Merchant
Mr. Fordyce, Merchant

January 16, 1761
Mr. Patrick Heron

January 30, 1761
Mr. John Hepburn
Mr. John Watson
Mr. Alex. Hay

February 11, 1761
Mr. Martin
Mr. Telfer
Mr. Hume
Mr. Campbell
Mr. Rolland

February 13, 1761
Rt. Hon. Ld. Greville
Dr. Clausen
Mr. Spearman
Mr. Liscomb
Mr. Smibert
Mr. Ramsay
Mr. Thomson
Mr. Smith
Mr. Martin
Mr. Swinton

Name, and Date
of Meeting

February 20, 1761
Mr. Johnston
Mr. Henderson
Mr. Dewar

February 26, 1761
The Rev. Mr. Anderson
Mr. Baillie
Mr. Graham
Mr. Balfour
Mr. Stewart
Mr. Ramsay
Mr. Gordon
Mr. Ross
Mr. Ayton
Mr. Lothian

March 20, 1761
Rt. Hon. Lord Greville
Ker of Morrison, Esq.
Dr. Francis Hume
Mr. John Baillie, Writer
Mr. Alexr. Campbell

March 27, 1761
Keith Dunbar
Robt. Innes, Writer
Wm. Miller

April 8, 1761
Anthony Ferguson (Made Secretary
to the Society and for that
purpose appointed as "perpetual
visitor".) Resigned February
10, 1762 because of ill health.

April 10, 1761
Sir William Forbes, Bart.
Mr. John Gordon
Mr. Peter Robertson
Mr. William Lock

April 17, 1761
Mr. John Gordon, Writer in
Council

April 17, 1761

Lord Greville
Mr. John Clerk, Merchant
Mr. Alexr. Bruce, Merchant
Mr. John Lothian, Merchant
Mr. John Angus, Merchant
Mr. William Campbell, Writer
in Edinburgh

April 24, 1761

The Rev. Mr. Ker
Mr. Robt. Malcom
Mr. Henry Smith
Mr. Archd. Hope
Mr. Garland
Mr. Urquhart

May 1, 1761

Alexr. Scott
P. Robertson
Mr. Murray
Mr. Hamilton
Mr. Scobie

May 8, 1761

Lord Greville
Mr. Fordyce
Mr. Malcolm
Mr. Lindsay
Mr. Fraser

May 15, 1761

Mr. James Stewart
Mr. A. Pierie
Mr. Arch. Hope
Mr. Alex Bruce

May 22, 1761

Geo. Dempster
The Rev. Mr. Duncan
The Rev. Mr. Walker
Mr. Carlisle, Town Clerk of
Dumfries
Mr. Cathcart

May 29, 1761

Prof. Watson
Lord Greville
Mr. McVicar
Mr. Alexander
Mr. Alex Murray
Mr. Cleverhall
Mr. Bradford

November 27, 1761

Lord Greville
Jas. Dunbar, Student at Law

December 4, 1761

Lord Cardross
Anthony Hamilton
Thomas Somerville
Mr. Jas. Chalmers

December 11, 1761

Mr. Honeyman
Mr. Stewart

January 8, 1762

Mr. Gloag
Mr. Miller

January 15, 1762

Mr. Hogg
Mr. Hunter
Mr. Balfour
Mr. Seton
Mr. Thomson
Id. Greville

January 26, 1762

Colin Drummond, M. D.
John Robertson
Andrew Stewart, Writer
William Law, Advocate
Robert Murray, Esq.

February 5, 1762

Mr. Robert Fairholme, Merchant
Alexr. Arbuthnot, Merchant
John Angus, Merchant
Anthony Barclay, Writer

February 12, 1762

Mr. Geo. Hume
Robt. Murray, Student at Law
John Lothian, Merchant

February 19, 1762

Lord Greville
Mr. Buchan of Lothian
Mr. Alexr. Menzies, Writer in
Edinburgh

February 26, 1762

Lord Greville
Mr. Brodie
Mr. Reid
Mr. Balfour
Mr. Home
Mr. Seaton

December 3, 1762

Lord Greville
Mr. Fordyce
Mr. Nearn, Advocate
Mr. Carmichael Smith
Mr. Ferguson

December 10, 1762

Mr. Drummond Ross
Mr. James Cletheral
Mr. James Wardrop
Mr. Thomas Cumming
Mr. John Gloag
Mr. John Fordyce

December 16, 1762

Dr. Robert Ramsay
Lewis Gordon, Esq.
Mr. John Walker
Mr. Arthur Martin
David Ross, Esq.
William Copland, Esq.
Mr. Patrick Crawford
Mr. Alex. Cunninghame
John Morgan, Esq.
John Fordyce, Esq.
Mr. Edgar
Mr. James Balfour

January 14, 1763

Mr. Wm. Carmichael
Mr. Wm. Dunbar
Wm. Hamilton Gordon, Esq.
James Geddes, Esq.
Mr. Curry, Student at Law

January 21, 1763

Mr. Robert Poswall
Mr. James Muirhead

January 28, 1763

The Rev. Mr. Cunninghame
Mr. Nairn, Advocate
Mr. Chalmers, Accomplant
Mr. Baillie, Advocate
Mr. Moffat
Mr. David Stuart
Mr. William Gordon
Mr. Geo. Clark

February 4, 1763

Mr. Alex. Wight
Mr. Henry Langster
Mr. William Urquhart
Mr. John Caw
Mr. William Walker
Mr. Alex. Alison
Mr. Johnstone
Mr. Boswall

February 11, 1763

Mr. Andrew Stuart
Mr. McLeod
Mr. Ferguson
Mr. Ayton
Mr. Aberdeen
Mr. Clark
Mr. Hamilton
Mr. Chapman
Mr. Rogerson

February 18, 1763

Mr. Drummond Ross
Mr. James Cletheral
Mr. Arthur Law
Mr. Richard Johnstone
Mr. John Angus
Mr. Mich. Nasmyth
Mr. Dunbar
Mr. Andrew Hunter
Mr. David Miller
Mr. Hogg
Mr. Al. Wilson
Mr. David Grant

February 25, 1763

Mr. Walter McFarlane
The Revd. Mr. Farquhar
Mr. An: Ferguson
The Rev. Mr. Glen
Mr. Cletherall
Dr. Boswall
Patrick Grant of Bouchain, Esq.

March 11, 1763

Payton Skipwith, Esq.
Mr. David McQueen
Mr. Dewar
Mr. Angus
Mr. Harvey Longster
Mr. Richard Johnstone
Mr. Cuming of Logie
Capn. Brown
Mr. Thomas Miller
Mr. John Law

November 25, 1763

William Warden
Mr. McDowal

December 9, 1763

Mr. M'Cormick
Mr. Alison
Mr. Laidlaw
Mr. Carfrae
Mr. Cochran

December 16, 1763

Mr. Seaton
Mr. Clerk
Mr. Stuart
Mr. Williamson

December 23, 1763

Mr. Andrew Crosbie
Mr. Telfer
Mr. Gorbel
Mr. Ross
Mr. Pringle
Mr. Boswal
Mr. Cochran
Mr. Halkerston
Mr. Jardine
Mr. Dunbar

January 28, 1764

Mr. William Law
Mr. Duff

February 10, 1764

William Dunbar
George Ogilvy
Keith Dunbar
John Seton

Robt. Donaldson
Mr. Dunbar of Boath
Mr. Wm. Urquhart

February 17, 1764

Mr. Campbel
Mr. Grame
Mr. Brodie

February 24, 1764

Mr. Leith
Mr. McDonald
Mr. Moffat
Mr. Jamieson
Mr. Reid
Mr. Seton
Mr. Campbell

March 2, 1764

James Balfour
Adam Ogilvie

APPENDIX 'G'

Contents of a Volume Described in the National
Library of Scotland Catalogue of Manuscripts as
"Notes and Speeches on Questions Debated in the
Belles Lettres Society."¹

(The first section of this volume (36 pages) is devoted to the following extracts taken from various authors. These were apparently recorded for the use of the owner of the volume. This section, therefore, is in the nature of a commonplace book.)

Puffendorf, Id. Clarke, Seneca, Dr. Clark.

1. Saying of a King of Spain.
2. do. of an Montmorency to a monk.
3. Reason why Esau is called Profane.
4. Two sayings of Seneca.
5. Derivation of the word Ara.
6. An idiom of the Hebrew language.

Dr. Clark.

1. What is meant by the Knowledge of Good and Evil.
2. The objection agt. prayer that God already knows what we want, and will do what is fit whether we ask or no answered.

Brown, Gibson, Williams.

1. The Character of the Manners of this age.
2. The evidence of Christianity, external and internal.
3. The Benefit of Christ's Death looked Backward as well as forward.

Calmet.

1. Value of talent.
2. Meaning and History of the Jewish Talmud.

Jortine.

1. Reason of the Devil's being painted Black.
2. An observation of Postellus concerning the Trinity.

-
1. The probable owner of this volume was William Lothian, see note #2, page 202, Chapter 4.

Shakespeare.

1. The Disadvantage of Doubting.
2. Commendation of Mercy.
3. Of Death.
4. Of Censure and Slander.
5. Of Grace.
6. Description of a messenger.
7. Of Falsehood.

Shakespeare.

1. Commendation of Mercy.
2. Praise of Music.
3. Advantages of Retirement.

Shakespeare.

1. Description of human life.

Shakespeare, Rambler.

1. The force of a good cause.
2. Cardinal Wolsey's lamentations.
3. The uncertainty of Man's Happiness.
4. Of the charge of Hypocrisy.

Rambler, Stanley.

1. Affectation how distinguished from Hypocrisy.
2. Of the Force of Perseverance.
3. A general antidote against Sorrow.
4. Sayings of Socrates.
5. And Aristippus.

Stanley.

1. Some Sayings and opinions of Theodorus.
2. do. of Bion.
3. do. of Plato.

Stanley.

1. Some sayings and opinions of Polemo.
2. do. of Aristotle.
3. do. of Zeno.

Stanley.

1. Some sayings and Opinions of Cleanthes.

2. Some sayings and Opinions of Chrysippus.
3. do. of Pythagoras.

Stanley, Adventurer.

1. Some sayings and opinions of Democritus.
2. do. Epicurus.
3. Why men are more jealous of their natural than their moral qualities.

Antoninus, Hutcheson, South Ul. History.

1. Sayings of Marcus Antoninus.
2. Reason of the different order of Beings.
3. Thought on innocence.
4. Sayings of the Mohammedans.

Prideaux.

1. A saying of Socrates.
2. Reason for the Jew's Hatred of the Samaritans.
3. Saying of Porphyry.
4. Reason why the Jews do not reckon Daniel and David prophets.
5. Strategem of Cambyses.
6. Reason of the name Magian.
7. Reason of the name Jews.
8. Instance of Justice.

Prideaux.

1. Time when Zorastres appeared, and some of his opinions.
2. Time of the expedition of Xerxes, and the number of his Forces.
3. A great slaughter by Gelo.
4. Time of Ezra.

Prideaux.

1. How the Jews reckon the Hours.
2. Time and occasion of the Building of the Temple at Gerizzim.
3. Wherein the Samaritans and Jews differ.
4. Saying of Darius Nothus.
5. Account of the Destruction of the Alexandrian Library.

Prideaux.

1. True account of what is called the Septuagint Translation of the Old Testament.

Prideaux.

1. Account of the Alexandrian Manuscript.
2. Of the two sorts of Proselytes among the Jews.

Prideaux.

1. Rise and Opinions of the Saducees, Karraites, and Pharisees among the Jews.

Prideaux.

1. Opinions of the Pharisees among the Jews; and Reason of their Name.

Prideaux.

1. Opinions of the Essens and Herodians among the Jews of their names.

Prideaux.

1. Luke 2d Chapter, 1st and 2nd verses, explained, and reconciled with Josephus.

Prideaux, Balquy.

1. The Beginning of the Christian Ara.
2. Arguments for the use of future Rewards and Punishments.

Balquy.

1. Many of our Deductions and Discoverys which we think are derived from Reason, are borrowed from Revelations.

Balquy.

1. Vindication of God with Relation to the first sin and its effects.
2. Reasons of the sufferings of the good and Prosperity of the Wicked.

Balquy, Brown.

1. Reason of Caesar's Emotion at Cicero's oration Pro Ligario.
2. Difference betwixt the efficacy of Taste and religious principle.

Brown, Home.

1. On what the Force of religious Sanctions depends.
2. Reason why the Heathens rejected the Jewish miracles.
3. Why a great Memory is seldom joined with a good judgment.
4. Difference betwixt Emotion and Passion.
5. Difference betwixt agreeable and pleasant.

Home, Sherlock.

1. Manner of drawing Resemblance and Contrast.
2. Observations on the syllable "ed."
3. Distinction betwixt Melody and Harmony.
4. Explanation of Phillip:2: 9.

Essay for a new Translation etc., Campbell.

1. Meaning of the Curses in some of the psalms.
2. Observation on the pagan Mythology.

Campbell.

1. Answer to the objection to Miracles that bad Beings may perform them.
2. Difference in the Evidence of Miracles arising from different circumstances.

Middleton.

1. No miraculous Powers in the Church after the Days of the Apostles.

D. Hume.

1. Mistakes in the Reasoning of those Philosophers who defend the Selfish System.

Hume, St. Evremont.

1. Reason for the pleasure we receive from Sorrow, Terror, etc.
2. Which comparisons drawn from these are most sublime.

Notes on some Questions debated in the Theological Society,¹

1. Whether is self love or Benevolence the Principle of human Actions: or are there two distinct Principles?
2. Whether national characters depend most on moral or Physical Causes?

-
1. These notes may have been made as preparation for participation in the debates, or they may have been taken at the time of the debates for the information of the owner of the volume.

3. Whether an University in a Metropolis or in a remote part of the Country is most proper for Education?
4. Does the Methodist Manner of Preaching tend to the advancement of Religion?
5. Would a Foundling Hospital be of advantage to this country?

Charge to the Right Honourable Lord Greville at his Admission into the Belles Lettres Society.¹

(For a transcript of this address, see Chapter 4, page 203 f.)

Short Notes on Some Questions debated in the Belles Lettres Society.²

1. (January 23, 1761.) Whether severe or moderate Punishments are most proper to restrain crimes?
2. (January 16, 1761.) Was it a commendable Action of Virginius to stab his Daughter?
3. (January 30, 1761.) Whether does Anticipation or Enjoyment afford us greatest Pleasure?
4. (Feb. 6, 1761.) Were men happier before the Invention of Arts and Sciences or since that time?
5. (March 20, 1761.) Should Horatius have been put to Death for killing his Sister?

1. Lord Greville was admitted an ordinary member on 8 December 1762 (See MS. Proceedings of the Belles Lettres Society in the National Library of Scotland). On that night, William Lothian took the chair. In the Charge, the author speaks to Lord Greville "as the President of the Society" (see page 205, above). This is the only internal evidence that William Lothian was the owner of the volume.
2. The dates shown are for those meetings at which the debates listed were held when William Lothian was present, and presumably took part. (See the MS. Proceedings of the Belles Lettres Society, which frequently mentions that Lothian "expressed his views", or "ledd off the debate.")

6. (April 10, 1761.) Abstracting from the Consideration of a future state, Whether is a virtuous or vicious Life to be preferred?
7. (April 24, 1761.) Is popular Esteem a Test of True Merit?
8. (Dec. 4, 1761.) Whether is the man of strong or of weak Passion the happiest?
9. (Jan. 8, 1762.) Whether are Men most excited to Action by Hope of Reward or Fear of Punishment?
10. (Jan. 22, 1762.) Whether the Character of Cato or that of Atticus is most excellent?
11. (Feb. 5, 1762.) Is it consistent with Humanity or Christianity that any of the human Species should be made slaves?
12. (Feb. 12, 1762.) Whether does Poetry, Painting or Music affect the Mind in the most lively Manner?
13. (Feb. 26, 1762.) Ought Polygamy to be tolerated?
14. (Dec. 16, 1762.) Ought Divorces by mutual consent to be allowed?
15. (Jan. 14, 1763.) Ought Regulus to have returned to the Carthaginians?
16. (Feb. 11, 1763.) Whether the stage is of Advantage or Disadvantage?
17. (May 1, 1763.) Ought the Reading and Writing of Romances to be Encouraged?
18. (Dec. 9, 1763.) Whether would it be for the Interest of Religion that the Clergy had small or great Stipends?
19. (Dec. 26, 1763.) Would it be of Advantage to this Country that the Marriage Act was extended to Scotland?
20. (Jan. 28, 1764.) Ought Civil causes to be tried by a Jury?
21. (Feb. 3, 1764.) Is the Law of Treason, by which a Man forfeits not only for himself, but likewise for his Children, agreeable to Equity and sound policy?
22. (Feb. 10, 1764.) Ought the Practice of Duelling to be encouraged?
23. (Feb. 17, 1764.) Whether the greatest national Evils arise most from the Tyranny of a Prince or the Factions of a Republic?
24. (March 2, 1764.) Whether did Brutus right in Killing Caesar?

APPENDIX 'H'

On Disputing Societies in general, the Pantheon, and Medical Society of Edinburgh, with a proposal for remedying certain inconveniencies to which all disputing societies must be subject.¹

Though one great inducement which mankind have to associate with one another is no doubt a sensation of the many wants to which human nature is subject, yet besides there seem to be several other motives almost equally powerful. A sense of danger will prompt people to associate in order to secure themselves from it, and a consciousness of a deficiency in knowledge will sometimes, though seldom, prompt them to associate in order to obtain it. Nothing can be more necessary or laudable than those two motives for associations; but there is a third principle which very often interveens and marrs the best planned societies for either of those purposes; I mean the principle of emulation, or a desire of excelling, and becoming more conspicuous than our neighbors. The desire seems to be as natural to us as to breathe, and is often attended with pernicious consequences. It prompts the members of an association for the public safety to exaggerate the most trifling appearances into the most grievous and alarming dangers; that each may be thought a man of penetration in discovering the dangerous situation of the state; and thus disturbs the peace of the country. And in literary societies it produces the most violent disputes, not for the sake of truth but for the honour of the disputants.

When I take a general view of this world as far as I can observe it, I see nothing but contention. Beasts fight with beasts, birds with birds, fishes with fishes, insects with insects, and men with men. Nay, so deeply rooted is this humour for contention in the whole animal creation, that it pervades even their diversions. The diversions of brutes when they meet in good humour are a mock fight, and so are the diversions of man for the most part, if not always. What else are our games at cards, dice, back gammon, chess, draughts, billards, etc., etc. but mock fights; not to mention our horse races, and other diversions of a similar nature, where the mock fight sometimes is a real one? No wonder then, that under pretence of associating for the advancement of knowledge, people should assemble merely for the purpose of dispute. Indeed so much have people in general given into the spirit of contention, that dispute and instruction are reckoned to go hand in hand; though nothing I think can be more opposite, and that for the following reasons.

1. I do not see that our knowledge is by any means increased, on account of the multitude of our disputes. On the contrary, I think these disputes stand very much in the way of learning, and are at present almost an insuperable obstacle. If a person desires to improve himself in any science, he will naturally read the first book

1. The Weekly Mirror, No. 22, Friday, February 16, 1781, Pages 391-395.

on the subject that comes in his way. The doctrines contained in that book he judges by his own reason, the only standard we have whereby to distinguish truth from falsehood. In this manner he makes some improvements, but in the next book that falls into his hands perhaps he finds the author of the former accused of partiality to an hypothesis, of misrepresenting facts, and stating them in an unfair manner. How is he to proceed next? He cannot judge who is right or wrong because his own experience doth not give him a foundation for deciding the difference. He must therefore either make a full stop, or have recourse to his own experience, or to other books. If he finally stops, there is an end of his learning; at once if he has recourse to his own experience, he could have done this before reading either of the books, and has thrown away the time spent in persuing them; and if he has recourse to other books, he is lost in an endless farrago, which, like Milton's chaos, would almost confound the Devil.

In verbal controversy the case is much worse if possible. Here we are confounded with our hurry, our passion, and our want of memory. Nothing in fact can be more absurd than to expect instruction from the words of two literary champions heated with controversy: scarce one in an hundred of these disputants pays the least regard to what his neighbour says, and indeed why should he? for he comes not there to receive or to give instruction, but to oppose his adversary.

2. I am persuaded that disputation, let us manage it as we will, can never be an eligible method of conveying instruction. We cannot extinguish the human passions;— they will operate at all times when an opportunity is given them; and if we desire to superside these operations, we ought carefully to avoid those causes which may excite any of our passions.— The passion most generally prevalent, and which universally shews itself, is self-love; and this passion we ought to be very cautious of opposing, if we either mean to serve a person, or expect to be served by him. But when we enter into a dispute with him we directly excite this most powerful passion. When a person is searching after truth, he ought to be directed by no other motive than the love of it, but the moment we give him any particular side of a question to defend, that moment we give him an additional, and very powerful motive to defend the side he takes, whether right or wrong, and thus our disputations, instead of promoting the cause of truth, promote that of falsehoods. We may try to correct and amend as we please, and recommend moderation and mildness, and so forth, but unless we could find men without passions, the case will be still the same, and matters will go on in the usual way.

3. I appeal to matter of fact. Disputing societies have not been established and the members of these societies are not more wise, more learned, or better, than other people; or than they themselves might very easily have been though, such societies had never existed.— Of these societies two of the most remarkable in

Scotland are the Pantheon, and Medical Society of Edinburgh. That both of them were instituted from a laudable design I doubt not in the least; but to me they seem calculated rather to do hurt than good to their members. The questions decided in the Pantheon are generally of so trifling a nature, that the deciding them, either one way or other, cannot in the least affect either the intellects or morals of the persons who hear and believe in the decisions; but the mischief here comes from another quarter. A society formed for the purpose of disputing about trifles, is plainly a society for teaching people to contend with each other about what is not worth contending for; and when a person has got into a humour of this kind, he contends, disputes, and spits fire upon all occasions, proper or improper. Such a person makes a very disagreeable companion; for his continual inclination to dispute makes him carp at every word which is said by other people, and hence he becomes generally disliked, and of course dislikes every body. I do not say that the members of the Pantheon are all people of this kind, but sure I am that they have all temptations to be so, if they enter into the spirit of their institution, and therefore I must conclude that the plan on which the Pantheon is conducted, instead of tending to increase knowledge, modesty and good-will to man-kind, tends only to increase impudence, folly, and ill-nature.

The Medical Society is in every respect much superior to the Pantheon, whether we consider the learning of its members, or the importance of the subjects debated in it. There is not a subject canvassed there which doth not essentially concern man-kind in general, as well as the reputation of individuals; nevertheless the evils of allowing or encouraging disputation appear here in very striking light.— Certain people have commenced, or have been supposed to commence leaders in medicine, a science in which no man ought to lead, or to be accounted a leader; and the followers of these leaders, supposing their honour to be engaged in defence of their cause, have carried their disputes to such an height, that they have been sometimes likely to be decided by the ratio ultima, and some of the members have been obliged to swear the peace against others.— Surely nobody will say that the cause of truth can be promoted by such violent proceedings, or that the Medical Society in such condition is calculated for making men wiser or better.

This view of our public societies is melancholy; nay it is shameful and scandalous; but it is entirely to be ascribed to the allowing of public disputation, and accounting it a proper means of instruction. Societies of this kind will be generally frequented by young people whose spirit is high, and their passions strong. They are not perhaps naturally disposed to consider a subject with that calmness and attention which is requisite before a final determination, and having once embraced, and publicly supported an opinion, their passions engage them to defend it, and to quarrel with those who take the contrary side. No doubt at every time of life people are too ready to be positive in their opinions, and pay too little regard to those of

others; but to engage in public disputes before the time at which nature hath brought our judgment and rational faculties to maturity, is certainly a most pernicious practice, and no society which by its plan encourages such a practice can possibly tend to the good of mankind, but the contrary.

To avoid all the inconveniencies which arise from disputation, I would propose to throw it entirely out of a Society instituted for the advancement of knowledge. Let the members of that society each deliver their opinion verbally, or rather in writing: let the papers given in be transcribed into books of the society, and then let the substance of them be extracted by some proper person, and circulated among the members before the next time of meeting, and thus every one would have time to form his judgement concerning the matter deliberately, and at some subsequent meeting the sense of the society could be taken, and the opinion of the majority recorded as the voice of the society concerning such and such a question. This would certainly tend to the improvement of every person, without giving offence to any, as nobody would be irritated by having his opinions violently opposed, or perhaps ridiculed, which is too often the case in the heat of dispute, under pretence of vindicating the cause of truth, but in reality for the sake of gratifying the pride and ill-nature of the disputants.

But indeed, even while I make the proposal for such a society, I can scarce help laughing at my own folly. Mankind have innumerable ways of doing good to each other, or of improving themselves, but they do not want to do good, and therefore they never embrace them. Any institution which gives one person an opportunity of shewing himself superior in any respect, though ever so trifling, to others, will be greedily embraced by many; but that which tends to keep every one on an equality, will be disagreeable to all. I must therefore sit down with the firm persuasion that my scheme will never take; for until I can divest mankind of pride and self-love, it is in vain to think that the effects of these passions will ever cease to manifest themselves.

APPENDIX 'I'

1

PANTHEON DEBATES

- (March 10, 1774.) "A Correspondent has favoured us with the following thoughts on the curious question concerning the existence of witches and apparitions, which were taken down in a short hand by a gentleman in the Pantheon, from a speech of one of the members." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 23, March 10, 1774, pages 335-337.) The same question was debated by the Society in November, 1779.
- July 28, 1774. "On Thursday last, the important subject concerning the improvement of the woollen manufactures of Scotland was canvassed in the Pantheon. There were present a great number of gentlemen. It was almost unanimous opinion, that the improvement of that manufacture, in preference to the linen, would greatly conduce to the interests of this country." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 25, Thurs. August 4, 1774, page 191.)
- (March 23, 1775.) "Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the question, 'Whether Incorporations are of benefit to Trade and Manufactures or not?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 27, Thurs. March 23, 1775, p. 394 f.)
- June 8, 1775. "On the Question debated in the Pantheon, June 8. 'What influence has climate on the Manners of a Nation?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 24, Thurs. June 29, 1775, pages 3-5.)
- January 9, 1777. "A Speech intended to have been spoken in the Pantheon, January 9, 1777, on the Question, 'Ought Great Britain at present, or in consequence of future success, to treat with the Americans as colonies of the Mother country, or as conquered provinces?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 35, Thurs. January 16, 1777, pages 115-118.)
- February 27, 1777. "Speech delivered in the Pantheon, Feb. 27, 1777, on the Question, 'Whether or not is the stage prejudicial to Virtue?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. April 3, 1777, pages 35-37.)

1. In the column on the left, the dates in brackets are the dates of the reports of the debates. These dates I have given when dates of the debates are unknown.

March 6, 1777.

"Speech in the Pantheon upon the Question, 'Whether would it be more advantageous for Britain to extend her dominions abroad, or improve her manufactures and commerce at home?' (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 35, Thurs. March 20, 1777, pages 393-394.)

do.

"Speech of a public-spirited Gentleman in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Would not the improvement of Manufactures, and the internal Commerce of Britain, be of more advantage than extending her Dominions abroad?' (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 35, March 13, 1777, pages 364-366.)

do.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Would not the Improvement of Manufactures, and the internal Commerce of Britain, be of more Advantage than extending her Dominions abroad?' (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. March 27, 1777, pages 4-6.)

March 20, 1777.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Ought the civil magistrate to oppose the mode of raising men for his Majesty's navy, as at present practised?' (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. April 10, 1777, page 71.)

April 3, 1777.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether are the mechanical or liberal arts most conducive to our happiness?' by a Lover of the Fine Arts." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. April 17, 1777, pages 103-104.)

do.

"Whether are the mechanical or liberal arts most beneficial to Society?" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. May 1, 1777, pages 170-171.)

April 10, 1777.

"Question, 'Whether is a town or country life most conducive to happiness?' by a Lover of both Town and Country." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. April 24, 1777, pages 141-143.)

do.

"Question, 'Whether is a town or country life most conducive to happiness?' (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 36, Thurs. May 8, 1777, pages 199-201.)

July 10, 1777.

"Speech in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Should Placemen and Pensioners be admitted into Parliament?' by a Free Briton." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 37, Thurs. August 21, 1777, pages 172-174.)

- (January 7, 1778.) "Debates in the Pantheon on the continuation of the American War.... Tullus Hostilius." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 39, Wednesday, January 7, 1778, pages 31-32.)
- (February 18, 1778.) "A Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether does Agriculture or Commerce conduce most to the benefit of a State?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 39, Wednesday February 18, 1778, pages 178-180.)
- June 18, 1778. "Speech in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether is Man most happy in the rude State of Nature, or in a State of Refinement?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 41, Wednesday July 1, 1778, pages 10-12.)
- December 17, 1778. "Summary of a Debate in the Pantheon, on the Question, 'Whether Love or Money should have the influence in forming the matrimonial connection?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 43, Wednesday January 6, 1779, pages 30-32.)
- February 11, 1779. "Question, 'Whether are Men most stimulated to virtuous Actions from the Hope of Reward, or the fear of Punishment?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 43, Wed. February 24, 1779, pages 202-204.)
- February 25, 1779. "Faber Aurarius's Speech on the Question, 'Whether the Philosopher or Man of Business is of most essential service to his country?'" (Weekly Mag., or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 43, Wednesday March 24, 1779, pages 277, 294-298. See also, for "Remarks on Faber Aurarius's Speech from Dub-hall," Ibid, Vol. 44, pages 39-40.)
- March 25, 1779. "The Clerk's Speech in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether are Mankind most excited to Acts of Charity by Benevolence or Ostentation?' Debated for the Benefit of the Charity Work-House." (Weekly Mag., or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 44, Wed. April 7, 1779, pages 36-38.)
- do. 2, 1779. "Further Remarks on Ostentation and Benevolence, introductory to the Sequel of the Clerk's Speech, on that Subject; with a fresh Proof drawn from Philosopher's Critical Essay." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 44, Wed. April 14, 1779, pages 89-91. These remarks were continued in the next issue, Vol. 44, Wed. April 28, 1779, pages 114-116.)

April 8, 1779.

"The President's concluding Speech in the Pantheon, on the Question, 'Whether the beauties of the Person, or the qualifications of the mind, tend most to recommend a Young Lady to a Lover?'" (Weekly Mag., of Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 44, Wed. June 2, 1779, pages 245-247.)

May 6, 1779.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon, 'Are Theatrical Exhibitions prejudicial to Morality?'" (Weekly Mag., or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 44, Wed. May 19, 1779, pages 196-197.)

do.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether Theatrical Exhibitions are Prejudicial to Morality?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 44, Wed. June 16, 1779, pages 285-287.)

June 3, 1779.

"Account of the Debate in the Pantheon on the Stool of Repentance." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 44, Wed. June 9 and 16, 1779, pages 269-270, continued on pages 287-288.)

do.

"Is the Church of Scotland justifiable in using as a part of her Discipline the Stool of Repentance? - Debated in the Pantheon on Thursday, June 3, 1779." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 45, Wed. June 30, 1779, pages 4-7.)

June 17, 1779.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether Love or Hatred is the Strongest Passion?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 45, Wed. June 30, 1779, pages 2-4.)

July 1, 1779.

"Whether the Physician, the Lawyer, or the Devine, contributes most to the Temporal Happiness of Mankind?" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 45, Wed. July 4, 1779, pages 58-59.)

August 19, 1779.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon upon the question, 'Does Learning or Riches contribute most to the happiness of the possessor?'" (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Wed. September 1, 1779, pages 14-16.)

September 2, 1779.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the question, 'Are the Common Council of London Capable in refusing to assist Government in the present situation of affairs?' Debated on Thursday, Sept. 2, 1779, and decided in the affirmative by a majority of only 21." (Edin. Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Sept. 9, 1779, pages 45-49.)

September 2, 1779. "Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Are the Common Council of London Culpable in refusing to assist Government in the present situation of affairs?'" (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Mag., or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Friday, September 17, 1779, pages 71-75.)

(September 8, 1779.) "Whether does the Company of Ladies or of Learned Men tend most to the Improvement of Youth? - by H. A." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 45, Wed. Sept. 8, 1779, pages 251-253.)

do. "Remarks on a Speech in the Pantheon by H. A.- by Zeno." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 46, Wed. Sept. 29, 1779, pages 5-8, and cont. on October 6, pages 32-33.)

do. "Strictures on Zeno's Remarks on a Speech in the Pantheon.- by Delia." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 45, Wed. October 20, 1779, pages 83-84.)

do. "Zeno's reply to Delia." (Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 45, Wed. October 27, 1779, pages 108-109.)

September 16, 1779. "Summary of the Debate in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Is personal Beauty of real advantage to the fair Sex?'" (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Mag., or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Sat. September 25, 1779, pages 100-103.)

(November 13, 1779.) "Speech delivered in the Pantheon, on the Question, 'Is the existence of Witches and Apparitions probable?'" (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Saturday, November 13, 1779, pages 299-301.) This subject was also debated previously on (March 10, 1774, see page 639, above.

December 9, 1779. "Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether is a state of Celibacy or of Marriage most conducive to private Happiness?' Decided by a majority of 95 in favour of Marriage." (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, Friday, December 24, 1779, pages 75-79.)

January 6, 1780. "Question debated, 'Whether Hope or Possession contributes most to Temporal Happiness?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Vol. 47, Sat. January 15, 1780, pages 99-100.)

January 6, 1780.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether Hope or Possession contributes most to temporal happiness?'" (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Mag. of Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Thurs. March 22, 1780, pages 46-47.)

do.

"The Clerk's First Speech in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Whether does Hope or Possession contribute most to Temporal Happiness?' Also a letter on the last report (see above)." (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, Saturday, April 8, 1780, pages 101-106.)

do.

"The Clerk's Second Speech in the Pantheon, on the Question, 'Whether does Hope or Possession contribute most to Temporal Happiness?' Decided in favour of Hope by a small Majority." (Edin. Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Monday, April 17, 1780, pages 139-143.)

(January 18, 1780.) "Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Has our want of success in the present War been most owing to those who planned or those who executed it?' - by Brutus." (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intell., Tuesday, January 18, 1780, pages 164-167.)

January 27, 1780.

"Question debated in the Pantheon, 'Whether does Money or Merit tend most to raise a man in the World?' Decided by a majority of 32 in favour of the latter." (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amuse., Vol. 47, Tuesday, February 1, 1780, page 160.)

February 10, 1780.

"Debate in the Pantheon on the important Question, 'Ought Scotland to co-operate with the English Associations in procuring a repeal of the late act in favour of Roman Catholics?'" (Weekly Magazine, or Edin. Amusement, Thurs. February 17, 1780, page 256.) This debate was continued on February 17, when it was decided in the affirmative "by a great majority."

do.

"Speech delivered in the Pantheon on the Question, 'Ought Scotland to co-operate with the English Associations in procuring a repeal of the late act in favour of Roman Catholics?' - by Gemmarius." (Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, Monday, February 28, 1780, pages 329-333.)

February 10, 1780. "Gemmarius's Second Speech on the Question ,
'Ought Scotland to co-operate with the English
Associations in procuring a repeal of the late act
in favour of Roman Catholics?'" (Edinburgh Eighth-
Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer,
Tuesday, March 7, 1780, pages 364-367, continued on
Wednesday, March 15, 1780, pages 4-7.)

APPENDIX 'J'

Minutes of the Meetings of the Academy of Physics.

Meeting 9th September 1797.

Mr. Erskine, President.

Mr. Brougham.

Mr. Leyden.

Mr. Reddie.

Mr. Brown.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read. Thereafter, the Academy having, on Mr. Reddie's suggestion, taken into consideration the inconveniences resulting from the want of general principles, which might be taken for granted in all physical inquiries, and from the free and unconstrained introduction of metaphysical points, on which the members, either from the strength of speculative or practical habits, or the abstract nature of the subjects themselves, can never come to an agreement, judged it expedient to adopt the following principles, reserving to themselves the power of altering or modifying them as experience shall dictate.

1. Mind exists, - a something, of the essence of which we know nothing, but the existence of which we must suppose, on account of the effect which it produces; that is, the modification of which we are conscious.

2. Matter exists, - a something, of the essence of which we are entirely ignorant, but the existence of which we necessarily believe, in consequence of the effects which it produces; that is, the sensations and perceptions which we receive by means of the organs of sense.

N.B. - Under these two heads are excluded, the suppositions of mind being a bundle of ideas, and matter a collection of properties, for a bundle of effects can never constitute a cause.

3. Every change indicates a cause; but of the nature of necessary connexion we are entirely ignorant.

The Academy also exclude the following questions, to the effect of prohibiting any conversation on them, but without preventing the Members from hearing of them incidentally, in papers not professedly on that subject, or taking for granted any opinion connected with them, as the foundation of a hypothetical train of reasoning.

1. The question as to a first cause, or infinity of causes.

2. The questions concerning

The Action and Passion of Mind.

Liberty and Necessity.

Merit and Demerit.

Self-love and Benevolence.

3. All general questions as to the nature of evidence; establishing as sufficient grounds of belief, besides the evidence of sense and consciousness, that of memory; that of abstract truth, whether mathematical or metaphysical; that of experience of

conclusion, from what has been, to what will be, and that of human testimony.

4. Questions concerning abstract ideas, establishing that we have general ideas; that is, ideas of something in which a number of objects agree.
5. The question of existence of rights.

The Academy then adjourned to 16th instant.

Meeting 30th September 1797.

Mr. Erskine, President.

Mr. Brougham.

Mr. Lang.

Mr. Brown.

Mr. Gillespie.

Mr. Leyden.

Mr. Brougham was appointed to examine Holcroft's translation of Count Stolberg's Travels, and to report the important notices.

Messrs. Brown, Lang, Gillespie, and Brougham, were appointed a Committee to examine the strata of granite embedded in schistus, on the banks and in the bed of the Water of Leith.

Meeting January 20, 1798.

Mr. Brougham, President.

Mr. Gillespie.

Mr. Copland.

Mr. Brown.

Mr. Murray.

Mr. Reddie.

Mr. Erskine.

Mr. Horner.

Mr. Robertson.

Mr. Alex. Lang.

Mr. Jas. Lang.

Mr. Logan.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read.

The Academy resolved, "That corresponding Members shall henceforth be subject to contributions, and be considered in every other respect as ordinary Members, while they reside in Edinburgh."

The Academy also resolved, "That the analyses and papers of last year shall be bound in two separate volumes; and Mr. Horner, with the two secretaries, were appointed a Committee to arrange them, and cause them to be bound."

The Academy farther resolved, that, (though every paper becomes the property of the Academy, unless the author expressly reserves to himself the liberty of withdrawing it,) yet he shall have the power of making such alterations, as he shall judge proper, upon his paper, after it has been read and discussed.

Mr. Lang then took the chair; and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Horner laid before the Academy two papers, with respect to a reform of the laws.

It was resolved that there should be an election twice a-year, on the first Meeting of November, and on the first Meeting of June, of three Presidents: That the duty of the President for the evening shall be, in the words of Mr. Brougham's motion, "To Keep order as he pleases, without limiting the freedom of discussion; to prevent the conversation from becoming confined, by asking all the Members their opinions, and not allowing a few to engross too great a share; to keep the speakers from wandering from the subject; to direct their attention, at intervals of silence, to what he thinks the most interesting branches of the subject; to declare, at the end of the meeting, on which side he conceives the opinions of the majority to be; and, upon his election to the office, to make himself master immediately of the laws, customs, and history of the Academy.

Resolved, that the philosophical news shall be the last part of literary business; and that the literary shall precede the private business.

Resolved, that a corresponding secretary be elected annually, whose office and business shall be, in the words of Mr. Brougham's motion, "To have the sole charge of the communication which the Academy has with correspondents, corresponding and honorary members, and persons not connected with it by any of these relations.

Regulations:

1. If any member holds a correspondence which comes within the office of the corresponding secretary, he shall give in to that secretary a copy of, or extracts from, such letters as may concern the Academy.
2. The letters and papers, which he may himself receive, he shall copy, or cause to be copied, at his own expense, into a book appropriated to that purpose, depositing the originals with the Academy. But if any of the communications thus received, shall be thought worthy of a place among the papers of the Academy, he shall cause them to be transcribed at the Academy's expense.
3. He shall have a discretionary power of answering, as he pleases, the letters received by him. But if the subject be difficult, or the measures discussed weighty, it is recommended to him to consult the Academy, if a meeting be near; otherwise, to ask the advice of the Presidents, Secretaries, and Treasurer.
4. It shall be his peculiar charge and power, (subject to the aforesaid regulations), to direct the attention of correspondents to such subjects as they may investigate, and to transmit any requests to that purpose from the Academy.
5. Under similar regulations, he shall likewise have a discretionary power of commencing new connections, introducing such correspondents to the notice of the Academy, and of proposing candidates for corresponding seats.

6. He shall enter in the correspondence book, all the letters or memorials which he writes to such correspondents or corresponding members, with the dates of their being written, and shall present his book at every meeting, to be read at the commencement of the philosophical news, and consulted by the members present.
7. If he has undertaken any communication in his official capacity, which the Academy deems unworthy of it, he shall at this decision make a recantation on the subject to the correspondents; a copy of which recantation shall be inserted in the correspondence book.
8. He shall, in an account book appropriated to the purpose, insert dated minutes of all expenses that he may incur in the Academy's service. Ordinary expenses shall be, postage of letters received, and of such as he may think proper to post-pay; account and correspondence books; and carriage of papers, specimens, books, or other parcels. Extraordinary expenses shall consist of such as, in the course of his communications with correspondents, etc., it may be necessary or proper to incur, either for preserving the dignity of the Academy, extending its list of correspondents, or inducing and enabling these to communicate. If, without orders, the corresponding secretary defrays any extraordinaries which the Academy afterwards disapproves of, he is not to receive any reimbursement.

It was further resolved, in the motion of Mr. Horner,

"That the Members of the Academy shall, before Saturday the 3rd of February next, give in lists of such subjects, in the different branches of philosophical inquiry, as they think deserving the attention of the Academy, and presenting a field for investigation and research."

"That on the said Saturday the 3rd of February, a Committee shall be appointed to class the various subjects, thus collected, into two general lists, one of subjects in the Physics of Matter, the other of subjects in the Physics of Mind: arranging the subjects of each general list in that order which shall appear to the Committee most convenient for investigation; and that this Committee shall present their report at the following meeting of Saturday the 10th of February."

"That, if this arrangement be approved of by the Academy, the subjects contained in each list shall be investigated in regular succession. That the first subject at the head of each list shall be taken into immediate consideration; and being subdivided each into several heads or branches of inquiry, such as the convenience of investigation may suggest, these subdivisions shall be distributed among the members of the Academy at choice, any member being allowed to choose one, or more, or all of the subdivisions. That the two subjects, one relating to The Physics of Matter, the other to the Physics of Mind, shall thus be referred each to a Committee of Investigation; which Committee shall have a discretionary power, like the other Committees of the

APPENDIX 'K'

List of Members of the Poker Club, 1768, From MS. in the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.¹

John Wedderburn of Gosford, Esq.
Dr. Alexander Carlyle.
Dr. Adam Ferguson.
John Fordyce of Ayton, Esq.
Mr. John Home.
Mr. Jas. Ferguson, Jun., of Pitfour.
Lord Elibank.
Baron Grant.
Dr. Francis Home.
Dr. George Wishart.
Mr. Andrew Crosbie, Advocate.
Mr. John Clerk.
Mr. Ilay Campbell, Advocate.
Mr. William Nairne, Esq.
David Hume, Esq.
Mr. W. Alexander, Merchant.
Mr. Jas. Russel, Professor of Natural Philosophy.
Mr. James Edgar.
Mr. John Adam.
Dr. William Robertson.
Dr. Hugh Blair.
Mr. Andrew Stuart.
William Pultney, Esq.
Dr. Robert Dick.
Dr. Robert Finlay.
William Graham of Gartmore, Esq.
Sir Adam Ferguson.
Mr. Alex. Wight, Advocate.
Sir John Whitefoord.
Dr. John Drysdale.
Hon. Patrick Boyle.
Dr. William Wight.
Sir William Maxwell.
Pat. Heron of Heron, Esq.
The Earl of Dunmore.
John Stewart Shaw, Esq.
Sir Michael Stewart.
James Dundas of Dundas, Esq.
Dr. John Gregory.
Mr. Samuel Garbett.
Mr. William Hogg, Minister.
Mr. Andrew Grant, Merchant.

1. Taken from An Account of the Friday Club, Written By Lord Cockburn, Together with Notes on Certain other Social Clubs in Edinburgh, by Harry A. Cockburn. (Third Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, June 1911, pages 105 f.)

On the proposal of Mr. Reddie, Mr. William Taylor was admitted a member of the Academy.

Adjourned to Saturday the 27th current.

Mr. Robert Stair Dalrymple.
Mr. Pat. Miller, Merchant.
Mr. Robert Malcolm.
Mr. John Macgowan.
Mr. John Dalrymple, Advocate.
Mr. Houstoun Stuart Nicolson.
George Dempster, Esq.
Dr. Joseph Black.
Mr. Robert Chalmers.
Col. Robert Murray.
Mr. John Ross.
Col. James Stuart.
Mr. Adam Smith.
Mr. Alex. Home.
Hon. Andrew Erskine.
Mr. Patrick Robertson.
Lord Elliock.
Mr. James Gordon.
Archibald Menzies of Culdares, Esq.
Robert Keith, Esq.
Matt. Henderson, Esq.
Sir Robert Myrton.
Baron Mure.
David Ross, Esq.
Archibald Cockburn of Cockpen, Esq.
David Smyth of Methven, Esq.
Earl Marischal.
Mr. Henry Bethune.
Mr. Orr of Barrowfield.
Mr. Robert Aberdeen.
Mr. W. Hamilton.
Mr. Gascoign.
Capt. Ross Lockhart.
Col. Mure Campbell.
Col. Andrew Montgomery.
Hon. Jas. Stuart.

List of Poker Club: 26th January 1776 (in the Library of the
University of Edinburgh).

- Lord Elibank.
Dr. Carlyle.
Professor Ferguson.
Mr. Fordyce.
Mr. John Home.
Mr. George Dempster.
Mr. James Ferguson.
Mr. Andrew Crosbie.
Mr. William Pultney.
Mr. William Nairne.
Mr. David Hume.

Mr. James Edgar.
Mr. John Adam.
Dr. Robertson.
Mr. Andrew Stewart.
Mr. Adam Smith.
Sir John Dalrymple.
Mr. Baron Grant.
Mr. Ilay Campbell.
Mr. James Dundas.
Mr. John Clerk.
Col. Fletcher.
Sir Jas. Stewart.
Mr. Hume of Ninewells.
Mr. Andrew Grant.
Col. Campbell, Finnab.
Mansfield Cardonel.
Mr. Alex. Ferguson.
Mr. Robert Chalmers.
Mr. Robert Cullen.
Mr. George Brown of Elliston.
Professor John Robison.
Mr. William Gordon of Newhall.
Mr. George Home of Branxon.
Dr. Blair.
Sir Adam Ferguson.
Sir John Whitefoord.
Mr. Baron Mure.
Mr. David Ross (Lord Ankerville).
Dr. Black.
Mr. Alex. Home.
Earl of Glasgow.
Mr. Baron Norton.
Mr. George Fergusson.
Sir John Halkett.
Duke of Buccleuch.
Earl of Glencairn.
Mr. Fletcher of Salton.
Lord Mount Stuart.
Mr. Baron Gordon.
Lord Elliock.
Lord Advocate H. Dundas.
Captain Elliot.
Mr. James Russel.
Mr. Robert Keith.
Mr. William Graham.
Mr. Dundas of Castlecary.
Mr. Kennedy of Dunure.
Lord Binning.
Mr. Mark Pringle.
Mr. Rutherford of Edgerston.
Earl of Haddington (sic).

Mr. William Morehead.
Mr. William Miller, younger of Glenlee.
Marquis of Graham.
Sir James Johnstone.

APPENDIX 'L'

Speech delivered by the Preses of a Literary Society
in the North Country, upon adjourning their Meeting
for some time.

Gentlemen,

As I have always considered the will of this Society my pleasure, and its injunctions my duty; so now, in consequence of a request made by certain of its members, I humbly submit to your judgements and indulgence, the following thoughts on Society, as they more immediately occurred; as also, my sentiments with regard to the conduct of this establishment of ours.

Society then I apprehend, to be the constitutional bond of mankind; that universal tie, to which, as a standard, Nature has fixed the leading propensities of every rational mind: And it is too, the only possible scheme whereby life can be supported with tolerable advantage, or whereby that native attachement, which we find founded in the original principles of human affections, can possibly meet with its corresponding object. And wisely, for the mutual benefit of the great and extensive whole, has the Almighty Creator implanted this noble social passion in every thinking soul. Man was not formed to act his part alone on the varied stage of life. The actors are numerous as the individuals, and the harmony of the exhibition depends on the intercourse and sympathy of the parties. Exigence and misery are the attractive objects which ever invite the aid and compassion of mankind; and arises that fundamental spring of feeling, which unbiased humanity cannot divest itself of. Injury and oppression call forth the positive desires of indemnification; and hence are introduced the wholesome establishments of Law and Property. Nor does the happiness and prosperity of the comparatively fortunate fail to meet with the gratulations and complacence of the unprejudiced, while the lovers of improvement, and generous votaries of useful knowledge, experience the advantages of communicative Society.

From this general view, my worthy friends, - of the grand designs of Providence in furnishing the rational world with such maxims of utility, and principles of adherence, with respect to Society, I am naturally led into the consideration of what might have been expected from an association such as we have formed; though, previous to this, I hope it may but be thought a digression to analyze the motives which generally influence mankind in their choice of associates.

According to my apprehensions of things, then, the motives which influence mankind to unite in bodies of this nature, are principally reducible to three; a love of fame; a view of serving some selfish end; or a desire of doing good; and tho', to determine which of these is the most noble inducement to such partial alliances, is no hard matter; yet it may, perhaps, be attended with some degree of difficulty to investigate which of them influenced us. A love of fame and singularity; or, in other words, a passion for becoming famous at the expence of more circumscribed understandings, though an inseparable

principle of vain shallow minds, is too unsocial a motive for founding the views of this establishment upon, in the abstract; and therefore let it be excluded the system of our jurisprudence - That selfish motives alone, however these may coalesce with low contracted minds, determined the respective members to promote the constitution, is an ideal unworthy of the notions, at least which I conceive, of this little commonwealth. Nor do I mean to attribute the origin and progress of our Society to disinterested benevolence only: this would be an inducement at odds with the general sense of mankind, and though goodness would extort the acknowledgement of such an heaven-born motive; yet some other peculiar feelings of human nature claim a share in the constitution, as well as administration.

The system of our passions and affections, Gentlemen, is so wisely composed of natural emotion, and derived sensation, that it is perhaps rash to ascribe to the one, of these grand springs of all our motions, an ascendancy over the other. As the offices of Society are reciprocal, so the passions which prompt to an association invariably breathe for mutual returns. And thus would I conclude, gentlemen, that with such views as these our Society was formed, with such views as these it was continued, and, with views of conveniency too, it is now about to be prorogued.

Our scheme upon instituting this Society, comprehended such an intercourse of sentiment and communication of thought, as implied the most likely method of civilizing the apprehension, as well as manners; of informing the understanding, as well as enlarging the field of invention; and of exciting the social principles to abandon the silent feats of forbidding reserve, peculiar to the climate; and, calling forth the dormant seeds of genius, open and avenue for walking at large in the unconfined regions of social active life. How far these happy objects have been kept in our eye, Gentlemen, or how far we have been successful in these praiseworthy designs, can only be ascertained by after life. Subjects of use and importance, however, have been considered: Difficulties have been started with judgement, and decided with precision: Cases of controversy have been judiciously handled; and truth, extricated from the clouds of prejudice and error in which it lay involved, has been made to appear in its own amiable colours. And while thus some of the most useful topics in civil, religious, or commercial life, have engaged our attention, and exercised the powers of invention and judgment in debate, we have not been burdened with the whimsical remonstrances, or partial interference of female associates, like some of our neighbouring establishments: Nor have philosophical enquiries, and rational disputations been wanting, notwithstanding we have had the good oeconomy to deprive ourselves the liberty of that affected boast - Sisterhood: (Note: Whether this alludes to the conduct of a society in Dundee, where Ladies are freely admitted, or to a motion lately made for that purpose in the Pantheon, but rejected by the Gods your northern friends know best. - Perhaps the question is not unworthy the

investigation of Ladies and Gentlemen, "which plan is most eligible," or, "whether the company, and presence of the ladies would promote and enliven the oratory of the Gentlemen, or not." P_____ R_____ S_____ P.)
 Nay, Venus and her emissaries have not entered our Sanctuary, though knowledge and philosophy constantly support our course. 'Twas not ostentation or Woman's applause that cemented us, but the cor commune of fellowship and prudence; That is the ensign of our privileges, and if that continue to determine our actions, I despair not of the happy issue as well as procedure of our lives. And let us reflect, my fellow members, that tho' this Society must suffer a temporary dissolution, the eternal obligations of nature, reason, and right, are the same. Duty must not be supplanted by prejudice, nor must the social and benevolent principles of our natures be sacrificed to the capricious impulses of little selfish appetites. To begin well, Gentlemen, is no doubt the ornament of youth, but to persevere in the practice of discretion is the glory of every age. And, notwithstanding the emblematical cor commune, (Note: The ensign of the society is a heart, in silver; motto, Cor Commune), will be for a time deposited in the private custody of some member, the living Cor Commune here, (Note: Clapping his hand on his heart), must not be dispensed with. May It never fail to feel the impression of real good-will to all mankind; may It uniformly excite to actions worthy of members of society; and ever have the satisfaction to be conscious of innocence!

A. B.

(This was printed in the Gentleman's and Lady's Weekly Magazine for Friday, April 22, 1774, page 393 f. The Society had not been positively identified, but it was probably the Perth Miscellaneous Club, see page 658, below.)

APPENDIX 'M'

A Discourse delivered at the first opening of the PERTH MISCELLANEOUS CLUB, who met in the Grammar-school on Saturday, January 9, 1773.¹

Gentlemen,

Seniority, and nothing but seniority, can apologize for my appearing first in this capacity, and on this occasion. In all other respects, I am deeply sensible how much it became me to be last. It is not, therefore, without some anxiety and diffidence, that the following hints, which time would not suffer me further to illustrate, are, in consequence of your command, suggested. I know you will neither impute my compliance with your request to an ostentatious rashness, nor censure with severity what could only be composed at random, because digested in a hurry. My chief confidence in this affair is, that a consciousness of meaning well, if it should not procure me your attention, can hardly fail of conciliating your good nature.

Gentlemen, When Nature brought forth her first begotten, Society, who had then as she still has, her residence in heaven, was delegated by the great Parent of all to nurse and cherish it. Confusion and uproar fled before her! Discord heard her voice, and disappeared! At her approach the demons of levity withdrew. The furies sought in the shades a covert from her presence. Harmony ushered her in with a smile. Felicity and peace felt her influence, and revived. The virtues congratulated mankind on her appearance. The graces danced round her in grateful complaisance; and earth, yet fresh with the gloss of creation, and rich with impressions of goodness, for once resembled heaven.

Independence is not communicable to creatures, for dependence is their proper and peculiar characteristic. The operations of the Deity proceed on a regular plan, and execute, by invariable and external laws, the original purposes of Providence. Hence the vast complication of causes and effects, of mutual dependencies and connections, which every where express, in characters sufficiently palpable, infinite wisdom and power. For ties, the most inseparable and permanent, pervade, unite and cement the minutest parts of his works as well as the greatest. The wildest elements are under his controul. He stills the raging of the sea, he checks the fury of the waves. The wind also hears his voice, and obeys it. Order and subordination, as well as beauty and magnificence, are conspicuous throughout the vast system of nature: and shall we be the only disjointed link in this universal chain, the only grating note in such a cordial song. Shall harmony no where halt but in us, whose frames are so curiously and wonderfully made; whose souls are impressed with reciprocal affections; whose breasts are replenished with sentiment; whose hearts breathe in the softest and sublimest feeling; whose voices are tuned to music; whose ears are the touchstone of melody.

Society is the inspiration of heaven, by which general classes of

1. The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. XIX, Thursday, January 21, 1773, pages 106 - 108.

mankind are united into separate bodies, and become each, in a manner peculiar to themselves, living souls. It is the voice of Nature that reaches to her utmost boundaries, to which none of her children are untractable, whose influence is universally felt and acknowledged; for it announces, in terms too peremptory to be disputed, and with a sanction which cannot be broken but at the peril of individuals, their distinguishing rights and immunities, their truest interest and improvement. It is also the key by which the primary tone of the heart is regulated, by which the chastest feelings chime in unison, and to which the noblest passions reverberate. What is life but this great principle of union, extended and diversified according to the number and variety of its objects? By this clue we may unravel the profoundest systems of policy, investigate their premises, and ascertain their consequences; for it is by these original sympathies which subsist between man and man, in various departments, and under certain restrictions, that all the active virtues expand and flourish. To point out the advantages of society, even in its roughest and most uncultivated state, we need only figure to ourselves the situation of that community whose first principles are violated, or the fate of that unhappy man whose evil genius hath precipitated beyond the reach of her protection. Laws are the sinews, the vitals of the social body; and, if these are torn without mercy, destruction is certain and immediate. All hell, though its madest uproars were disclosed, could not strike the imagination with a more horrible spectacle than the blind and brutal violence of a lawless croud. What words can describe his wretchedness who is the destined victim of their resentment, without being able either to repel or appease them?

Apart from society goodness has no being; for goodness is not a solitary but a social thing. Religion herself is no sooner out of company than out of countenance. "These are not my votaries," she says, "who, guided by petulance and impatience, repair to solitude, and utter there, in wild and melancholy accents, the whimsical and visionary conceits of a peevish and sickly fancy, of a harsh and barbarous superstition. Mine is the spirit of concord and love, the genius of harmony and union. I came on purpose to dispel the gloom of ill-nature and prejudice, which the author of mischief had bred among men: to banish war and wickedness, turmoils and broils from the earth; to soothe the savage breast, and soften, by the genial voice of mercy and truth, the hardest heart: to diffuse through the world whatever is requisite to humanize the passions, refine the manners, incorporate the interests, gratify the wishes, and elevate the thoughts and desires of mortals." Hence the duties she prescribes express by implication the obligations we are under; the objects she presents take hold of our hopes and our fears; the examples she exhibits work on our ambition; and the truths she suggests furnish our minds with forcible and operative principles. What constitutes the religious character, or renders it so venerable and sacred, but that divine charity which embraces all mankind with a cordial and kind regard. Hence the genuine christian, whose sentiments are as liberal as pious, is the most social, at the same time that he is the most serious, and yet the least formal alive. The claims of society appear to him equally natural and necessary: he imitates the divine goodness, and, like that providence which watches over all, is even sometimes liberal to the evil and unthankful. Happy is the bosom which heaves with such sensi-

bility! happy the country where so much excellence resides! happy the society which consists of such members! Such a society is heaven. There the inhabitants live in eternal friendship: weakness adheres no longer to humanity; discord is at an end, for the cause is removed: hope is crowned with fruition; felicity is grafted in love; murmuring is no part of the celestial concert; for all is immortal harmony and perfection. On the spirit of this let us form our fraternity: perhaps some heavenly minister more, social than the rest, may deign us a visit, correspond with our society, animate its members, and become its genius.

There is something in learning which conciliates affection and esteem; a certain secret heart-felt charm, which, like some common principle of sympathy, knits the literary body together, and of which only the breasts of the literati are susceptible. It is owing to union and concord in the acquisition that the progress of science hath met with so much success, that its influence is so extensive and salutary, and that its laurels are still fresh and flourishing. In this line genius, like a vein of ore, hath been often struck out to enrich and delight the world. Imatation, emulation, rivalry, and ambition, these fertile sources of literary merit, have full scope, full force, are kept alive and active in society.- Can we give ourselves up to indolence and sloth, while all are busy and diligent around us? Will we remain rustic and unpolished, while conversant only with the liberal and polite? or ignorant and illiterate, while literature and knowledge are the professed objects of our pursuit? Darkness is not to be expected in the midst of so much light.

Our design, gentlemen, in this society is improvement. A liberal and masterly elocution is our object. The local inconveniencies which must attend us may not be few. The contempt of the selfish and ignorant is unavoidable, but insignificant. Sneering we will have in abundance, for dunces must sneer where they dare not bite. Witlings also may make themselves merry at our expence, because they want the spirit to emulate and the will to profit by our example. Good men, however, will applaud us though we should be unsuccessful. We have it in our own power to support our credit with the discerning part of the world, and the opinion of the others is too partial and capricious to merit any regard. If ambitious of true excellence, we cannot possibly become despicable: but if we prostitute our time and talents to a spirit of wrangling, give more into censure and criticism than candour and forgiveness, the genius of Eloquence, shocked with our sophistry and affectation, will leave us indignantly, and leave us too a prey to partiality and spleen, to petulance and ill-nature. As therefore we would be of use to one another, let us cultivate friendship and affability, even merriment without levity, and wit without offence, if you will, for all the graces are the companions of good-humour.

C——n.

APPENDIX 'N'

Of Society in general, and Polemical Society
in particular.¹

To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine.

Sir,

Whoever gives the least attention to his internal constitution, must immediately observe a violent propensity within him for society, and consequently an extreme aversion to solitude. It is a truth unquestionable, that man was formed to be a social being: this the noble powers with which he is endowed incontestibly demonstrate; yea, it is evident from the structure of his mind. The most surprizing organs of speech are bestowed upon him, for the more ready communication of his thoughts to fellow-creatures of the same species; such organs, as are totally denied to the brutal creation; such organs, as of themselves remarkably distinguish him from any of the many other animal tribes.— And who can speak, who can think, without astonishment of the faculties of his soul; faculties, which enable him to investigate the works of nature, to imitate them, yea, to adorn them by art: faculties that capacitate him to judge between good and evil, to reason with the greatest force and propriety, to trace up secondary causes to their origin, and to make the just distinctions between causes and effects, by comparing them reciprocally: such faculties, in a word, as eminently qualify him for the contemplation of the great, the omnipotent, the first cause of all. Nothing is clearer than this, that these powers, and those organs were given to mankind for mutual intercourse. No man in his senses can imagine, that these social feelings and faculties were intended for individual monopoly; very far from it,

God in the nature of each being founds
Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds:
But as he form'd a whole, the whole to bless,
On mutual wants built mutual happiness.
So, from the first, eternal order ran,
And creature lik'd to creature, man to man.

Pope.

Doubtless there are some individuals of such a hermitical turn, that they would renounce all the sweets, relinquish all the advantages of society, for solitary, monastic life; who would far prefer the lonely cloister to the joyous city, and the sullen company of owls and bats, those birds of night, to the sprightly conversation of their brethren of mankind: But these must be accounted exceptions from the general rule; or, it may be, considered as creatures of monstrous birth. The necessities of men are very great and many; and, for their relief, they mutually depend upon each other. The lord of the lower creation is brought into the world in a more helpless condition than perhaps

1. The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vol. 28, Thursday, May 18, 1775, pages 231 to 235.

any of his subjects of the irrational race. We presume, that all of these can provide for themselves, at most a few days, or a few weeks after their production, and many of them are no sooner brought into the world, than they can fly away, or run about in quest of food. — But man, the greatest in others, seems, in this respect, the least of all the animal creation. He must be clothed, he must be fed, he must be carried for a long time after his birth. When he can do these things for himself, yet his food and raiment must be laid to his hand by those who have it in their power, he being unable to acquire them for a long course of years. If the other animals are very far excelled by man, yet the all-wise Author of nature seems to have intended that they should, in some degree, be recompenced for their innumerable deficiencies, by fitting them far sooner than man for the use of those powers which they have. What a striking display of the infinite goodness, as well as wisdom of the Creator, in giving him a strong inclination to that, from which alone his wants, his grievances can be redressed!

Actuated by this universal disposition for society, men join together in political bodies, as states, commonwealths, and kingdoms; for the proper regulation of which, they enact those laws that appear most wholesome. Each government differs from another, according to the abilities of the legislator, or necessities of these to be governed. In each of these states we will most readily find the members joining together in distinct corporations of some kind or another, for the purposes of trade; in more civilized nations, the generous inhabitants forming societies for the encouragement of letters, as well as of commerce. In Britain, for instance, we have a Royal Society, very properly so called; one for the encouragement of the fisheries in Scotland; another for the propagation of Christian knowledge; a fourth for the improvement of manufactures, &c. These are certainly very advantageous, as well as ornamental to a kingdom; and what a blessing to a country in general, to be possessed of such learned and noble-spirited gentlemen as are usually the propagators of such erections!

The rearing of polemical societies is also highly necessary. Such may be accounted most excellent seminaries for capacitating youthful minds for the future service of their country—most excellent institutions for reducing to practice what they have learned theoretically—and incomparable for strengthening the memory, regulating the sentiment, bettering the judgement, and universal improvement of the mind. It must be evident to every one what is meant by these. It would therefore be unnecessary to mention the Pantheon, the Robin Hood, and debating societies in Edinburgh, as institutions of this kind: Allow me to recite a few of their advantages a little more particularly.

Gentlemen that are so closely connected together, are irresistibly led to the cultivation of acquaintance, or increase of friendship. Being assured of each other's merit, they will naturally desire, and be in some degree insensibly and agreeably forced into a pleasant intimacy. As the very name given to such erections manifestly imports

that social intercourse is particularly designed, the erectors will take care that none be admitted as members who are not possessed of such feelings; nay, it is altogether improbable, that any would join them who are otherwise inclined. They will not only reap the benefits of such a generous intimacy while together in the society, but most likely, through the whole course of their lives; they may live together with happiness in their native country, or meet with transport in a foreign clime: the blessings that would, that do accrue from the mutual services of friends, in this case, are innumerable. If an injury is offered to one, the whole consider themselves bound to take satisfaction. If one of their number discovers a convenience, or acquires a profit, both are made common. If he sustains any loss, or is perplexed with some inconvenience, his companions think themselves obliged, if possible, to remedy the one, or reimburse the other.

The judgment of the speakers is confirmed by investigating the subjects of disputation. If they have acquired knowledge, this is the school for practice and improvement; if they have but little, they will at least profit greatly by hearing. When gentlemen connect themselves in such a laudable way, they are encouraged; they are obliged to look into matters that would otherways, with regard to them, have been for ever hid, although probably truly important in themselves, and necessary for the proper conduct of life. By such assistance, young men grow old in wisdom; by such recreations, the old, the hoary head resumes the delightful days of youth; by this innocent, this agreeable interchange of sentiments, the son learns the experience of the father, and the father recalls his almost exhausted spirit, intermixes gravity with sprightliness, and renews his age as the eagle.

As it is scarcely supposeable that many of the members would speak their mind before a numerous, a polite, a learned audience, without previously committing their thoughts to writing, or, at least, some careful premeditation, they have a very proper opportunity of strengthening the noble powers of memory; that power, without which the judgment would be altogether useless, as we could no sooner form ideas than they would fly away into the regions of oblivion; without which, we could not even collect any thoughts with the least degree of coherence or propriety; without which, in a word, we would be intirely unfit either for the enjoyment of our own, or the company of others.

Nor should it be forgotten, that by these the taste is greatly corrected when false, and formed with propriety where it had no previous existence. What an oblique, what an aukward appearance must a fellow make, when ushered into the world without the powers of distinction, or at least without them in any degree of refinement! How is he capacitated to chuse his company, or how can he suit himself to such as are laid to his hand? In what a disgusting manner must he dress, walk, or go about business! How uncouthly must he think, speak, look, or do any thing! He will not only be nauseous to company, but, I had almost said, to himself - without reflecting, that he wants the taste to discover this nauseousness. He will, at least, be incapacitated for self-enjoyment, being unfit to distinguish the amusements that are proper from those that are improper, and the books that are worth the reading from such as are only useful in the

snuff-paper way. — Polemical societies are certainly then the most proper, and the most speedy means for forming or correcting a person's taste, when he has it not in a high degree naturally, or acquired by early acquaintance with the world.

Neither is it an inconsiderable advantage that thence arises with regard to the improvement of stile. Let a man be well versed in half a dozen of languages, if he is not so well acquainted with his own, what a sorry pedantic figure must he cut! He can only converse with the inhabitants of foreign nations, or musty volumes of antiquity. He might do for a monk, but not for a man: he might converse with the now silent Muses of the once-famed Helicon or Parnassus, but not with the illustrious mademoiselles of the beau monde: he might join with the Peripatetics, or disciples of the stall-bred Diogenes, but not at all with the refined Philosophers of the present age of politeness — with J _____ n, but not with C _____ d. And how can he be better qualified than among the members of such an establishment?

Do we find a youth who is promising, through whom the dawnings of genius are seen, or in whom it has already arrived at some perfection, but murdered with a clownish bashfulness that gives pain to himself, and all around him? send hither this youth Let him first hear, and then let him speak, till he get himself divested of that detestable companion. By some it will be advanced, that, by depriving him of this, you deprive him of a modest behaviour: but, for making the proper distinction here, let us only attend to the words of a late, a much celebrated writer, who asserts, that "there is a great difference between modesty and an awkward bashfulness, which is as ridiculous as true modesty is commendable, and that the last ought always to be united to a polite and easy assurance."

These are some of the advantages that are almost confined to the members themselves. The visitants, without question, have an opportunity of getting acquainted with the members, or with one another; of having their judgments confirmed by hearing the elaborate disquisitions of others; of getting their taste formed or corrected, their stile improved, and their acquaintance both with men and things extended; yet these seem more to be monopolized by the speakers, than the few following, which they enjoy in common with the hearers.

Those who attend such societies, whether speakers or hearers, have an exceeding good opportunity of knowing the abilities of each other. It is most supposeable that one will exert himself to the utmost, when he is to speak his mind before a numerous assembly of people of taste and education. If any of them want to make up acquaintances, they will know who are the persons of real merit, and fit for the sweets of friendship.

In the same manner are their minds relaxed, and their cares softened. If the student turns his steps to this house of innocence, of improvements after the tedious labours of the closet, how agreeable

the gentle eloquence of the hall! Does the man of business for a little forsake his books, his bales, his confinement, for this in exchange, with what transport must he speak of his bargain! and with what rapture declare, that although he went with a heavy enough heart perhaps, his cares forsook him, his difficulties vanished, and his soul tasted of the delights of society indeed! Is the tender-hearted mourner decoyed thither? with what pleasure does he afterwards confess, that the happy scenes of life once more filled his eye in all their gaiety—bliss, though formerly sickened with sorrow, in place of dreary monuments and tombs! I appeal to your late, your worthy correspondent Lector.

Let us not pass it over as a trifling advantage, that by this means the love of reading is promoted both in speakers and hearers. These being at first obliged to consider their subject with assiduity, now go upon their duty spontaneously, yea delightfully; and those, captivated with the effects of reading in others, betake themselves with application to the original cause. Thus as emulation, highly commendable, is excited, is cherished, and is often productive of the most excellent consequences. May we not venture to say, that the world has been indebted to such societies for many gentlemen of genius, who would not have otherwise been known: By going in hither, they had this emulation, this most noble ambition begun, blown up, and carried on, till they are brought from ignorance to an exalted sphere, as ornaments to the bar, the press, or the pulpit.

It would be altogether unpardonable to pass over in silence the generosity of the young ladies of the chief town in Scotland, who attend the disputes in the celebrated Pantheon. This behaviour speaks much in their favour: It certainly indicates a conviction of the manifold advantages of such societies; and this again is an evidence of the greatest good sense, and a taste truly refined. It almost seems to promise, that we shall have some admirable heroines in this distant age; heroines, who shall far excel the so much famed Lucretia, Virginia, Portia, &c. among the illustrious Romans; a Penelope, Sophonisba, or Cleopatra, among other wondering nations, both in real knowledge, and in every other dignifying accomplishment: Ladies, who shall magnanimously forget the allurements of a debauched, a debauching theatre, or the maddening pleasures of a masqued ball; the fascinating charms of beggaring quadrille, or enchanting chimeras of deceitful love—for the noble, the exalted researches of literature, and the unfading pleasures of virtue, which flatter not with false appearances, nor cruelly deceive with soul-enrapturing scenes, that have no real existence. — Continue then, my noble sisters, truly illustrious daughters of Caledonia, amiable virgins of Edina! and, by your excellent example, encourage others to tread the paths of virtue, of learning, and consequently well-founded fame! Regard not the scorn, perhaps the envy of others; you must lay your account with these, but they are only the ebullitions of ignoble souls. In a word, by your merit and conduct, put to shame the females that forget the oath of virtue; undeceive the men, who (horrid thought!) imagine, and would have others think so too, that you are only formed for toys, for play-things, and possessed of no souls at all, or only

souls in minature; and let the female sex claim, and exalt their divine prerogative of being "a help meet for man."

May honour attend these ingenious gentlemen, who first proposed the plan, and carried it into execution. This politeness certainly deserves the thanks of the house better than any other on whose account they are given; for such a scheme must surely be productive of many excellent consequences on both sides of the question: and that member who does not speak with propriety, with spirit, with a kind of inspiration before such enchanting judges, must undoubtedly be lost to every fine feeling, every manly sensation, and either devoid of rational powers, or possessed only of a mean soul.

But upon the whole, though sensible of overlooking many advantages, I am afraid there is too little ground to say with Cato,

I fear I've been too hasty:

but I have more occasion to fear that I have been too prolix, have wearied out your patience, and shall therefore only beg your excuse, and subscribe myself,

Yours, &c.

Glottianus.

Banks of Clyde.

(Further remarks by Philanthropos on society in general, and polemical society in particular.)

To the Publisher of the Weekly Magazine.

Sir,

Nothing gives me more pleasure than the perusal of an essay on an useful and entertaining subject, well executed, particularly when published in this way; an excellent scheme for catching the attention of those who will not allow themselves to be instructed in a more serious manner. When reading your Magazine, P. 231. my attention was soon engaged by "an essay on society in general, and polemical society in particular," the production of your correspondent, and my friend, Glottianus. Every thing which tends either to the advantage of mankind as already in, and friendly to the interests of society, or to raise in the minds of those who are not so friendly as could be wished, a higher degree of warmth, inviting them assiduously to prosecute the ends of social connection, and in consequence to set forth the wisdom and goodness of the first Cause of all things, ought to be held in the highest esteem by every sociable, by every rational creature. Whoever attends carefully to the nature and advantages of a well regulated society, or true friendship, which is no more than society properly improved, cannot but be convinced that it is of an heavenly extract, and cannot be reared to perfection.

1. The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement, Vo. 28, Thursday, June 8. 1775, pages 321 to 323.

fection in this cold, this barren soil. It is the duty of all (and, I am fully persuaded, the desire of every true lover of mankind) to use their utmost endeavours to get it established on a firm basis, that its salutary effects may be lasting: yet the full bloom is not to be expected here; it is reserved for the future state of existence. The advantages arising from society, respecting both body and mind, are great and many. The faculties themselves, which, proof to this connection, were in a manner dormant, are raised from their lethargic state of inactivity, and set on performing their originally destined functions. By society all the various powers, whether of body or mind, which individuals enjoyed only separately before, are collected together, and lodged, as it were, in a common treasury, to which every one has access at pleasure, and may have the benefit of the whole without diminishing the original stock. On this I insist not. My design, at present, is only to make a few remarks on polemical society, as treated by Glottianus. — Without the most distant intention to depreciate the merit of his performance, I would only beg leave to offer my opinion about some things, which may either have escaped his notice, among the croud of more necessary observations, or which he did not chuse to take notice of, for reasons known to himself. As the best institutions are apt, through abuses in some cases, to be really hurtful to those whom they are principally intended to benefit, I think every author, when shewing the advantageous side, should likewise touch at some of the inconveniencies which may take place, presenting them as beacons carefully to be avoided, lest, through inadvertency, youth may lose the benefit of so laudable a scheme.

Great care should be taken, that those who intend to join together in a polemical society, be, prior to that connection, in the strictest friendship among themselves. One fractious, unfriendly member may not only interrupt that advantage which they might reasonably expect in the course of their dissertations, but even occasion the intire dissolution of the society. It is true friendship for the person that causes us admire his parts without envy—that causes us endeavour to imitate his example in whatever is praise-worthy. This friendship seldom, if ever, takes place among the members of any society, when their worldly circumstances and pedigrees are in great disparity. Those of a higher sphere are apt to look down with disdain on the lower class, as scarcely worthy of their notice: They, on the other hand, are ready to be piqued at the conduct of their opulent, their high-born brethren, if they observe how they carry towards them, which cannot well be concealed; and if they should not, will fall into the opposite extreme of flattery, which is equally hurtful to the success of both.

Persons should either be so far advanced in age and learning, as to have tolerably clear ideas of those subjects they mean to treat in society, or at least confine themselves to easy subjects, if determined to engage in that exercise very young. When the question is beyond the depth of the disputants, they are neither able to determine whether the truth is properly ascertained, nor the opposite error judiciously exploded. In this case, by being accustomed to dispute

on every thing, while at the same time they understand nothing, truth becomes error, and error truth, in their notions of things, in proportion to the abilities of the disputants; which is almost sure to land them in absolute scepticism with respect to subjects even of the most serious nature.

As these societies are rather calculated for improvement in speaking than in sentiment (though the latter is by no means excluded), the mind should be well stored with useful knowledge, that it may be able to distinguish between right and wrong, truth and error, in their most simple state, without that colouring which an able speaker can give the one or the other. In order to accomplish this, the careful perusal of a few chosen books, to assist and direct the young idea how to shoot, beginning with plain easy subjects, and, as the mind opens, by an easy graduation, still to advance higher and higher, seems the best method. To read more than the mind can digest, wandering from subject to subject; without studying any one thoroughly, is far from being the means of acquiring useful knowledge. It may equip a pedant, but can never form the man of real learning.

Without a well-digested knowledge of the subject to be treated, the very design of the society is frustrated. No one can ever learn to speak well or agreeably on any point which he does not understand. Both the gestures of the body and tone of voice must correspond to the nature of the discourse; otherwise the orator will appear in a very ridiculous light to every sensible man. To regulate these, the ignorant frothy speaker has no other direction than that of CHANCE, who produces few regularities. That young gentlemen are too ready to turn their principal, if not their sole attention to those external ornaments (excellent in themselves when under proper regimen), which they imagine are best adapted to captivate the admiration of the hearers, and gain applause to themselves, is evident to every one who attends these societies; and in this their design they may very readily succeed, the minds of the vulgar being more apt to be pleased with sound than with sterling sense, though the latter only is valuable; a convincing evidence of these gentlemen's usefulness, whether in church or state, so soon as they are in office! — I have often heard gentlemen talking away at no allowance, yea, to the admiration of a gaping crowd, without giving one single argument worthy of notice in the whole course of a long harangue. Too much care cannot be exercised in the admission of visitants. None ought to be admitted but those who are pretty judicious, and may be supposed, in some measure, able to judge how the question to debate is managed, that when they retire, if they are disposed to repeat what they have heard, they may characterise members according to their real merit. I have heard an empty, though a noisy speaker, raised to the skies by the encomiums of visitants, while the sensible modest man was treated with contempt.

I beg leave to differ from the gentleman anent the ladies of Edinburgh, who attend the disputes in the Pantheon. I imagine (but I may be wrong, and so far beg to be excused) that the minds of ladies, as well as their bodies, though sprightly enough, are too

weak for having much advantage from polemical exercises; nay, they are apt to lose sight of the truth altogether, when twisted about through all the windings of a well supported debate, which, I make no doubt, those in the Pantheon are. Glottianus may; but I would not be very fond of a lady, much given to disputation, as a help-mate for me.

ed

I intend other remarks, but, lest your own or readers patience should be wearied too much with what I have said, shall only beg leave to subscribe myself,

SIR, Yours, &c.
Philanthropos.

Glasgow, May 26.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Printed Books¹

Aberdein, Jennie W. John Galt. London: Oxford University Press, 1936.

An Account of the Life and Character of Alexander Adam, LL.D., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: D. Schaw and Son, 1810.

Alison, Robert. The Anecdote of Glasgow. Glasgow: 1892.

Angellier, Auguste. Étude sur La vie et Les Oeuvres de Robert Burns, a Doctorial thesis in two parts. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892.

Arnot, Hugh. The History of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech, 1788.

Arthur, Rev. Archibald. Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects, with an account of some particulars of his life and character, By William Richardson, (Professor of Humanity University of Glasgow). Glasgow: 1803.

Atkinson, R. H. M. Buddle and G. A. Jackson. Brougham and His Early Friends, Letters to James Loch 1798 - 1809, collected and arranged, 3 volumes. London: Privately Printed, 1908.

Baert, (F. B. de P. de). Tableau de La Grande-Bretagne, de L'Irlande, et des possessions Angloises dans les quatre parties du Monde. Paris: H. J. Jansen, Year 8. 4 volumes.

Bain, Donald. Olden Times, or The Rising of the Session, a comedy, in five acts. Second edition. Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1843.

Bain, Margaret I. Les Voyageurs Français en Écosse (1770 - 1830) et Leurs Curiosités Intellectuelles. Paris: 1931.

1. See also the supplementary list of Printed Books, page 686.

Beattie, James. James Beattie's London Diary 1773. Aberdeen University Studies No. 122, (ed. with an introduction and notes by Ralph S. Walker). Aberdeen: The University Press, 1946.

Beattie, William. Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell, 3 volumes. London: 1849.

Black, George F. A List of Works Relating to Scotland. Published by the New York Public Library, 1916.

Boswell, James. Boswelliana - The Commonplace Book of James Boswell, with a Memoir and Annotations by Rev. Charles Rogers. London: Printed for The Grampian Club, 1874.

— The Hypochondriack, being the seventy Essays by the celebrated biographer, James Boswell, appearing in the London Magazine, from November, 1777, to August, 1783, and here first Reprinted; ed. by Margery Bailey, 2 volumes. Stanford University Press, 1928.

— Letters of James Boswell, collected and edited by Chauncey Brewster Tinker, 2 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

— Letters of James Boswell to the Rev. W. J. Temple, with an introduction by Thomas Seccombe. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1908.

— Boswell's Life of Johnson; Together with Boswell's Journal of a tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales, edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L. revised and enlarged edition by L. F. Powell, 6 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.

— Boswell's London Journal 1762 - 1763, together with Journal of My Jaunt, Harvest 1762, prepared for the press, with introduction and notes by Frederick A. Pottle, deluxe edition. London: William Heinmann Ltd., 1951.

Bower, Alexander. An Account of The Life of James Beattie. London: 1804.

— The History of the University of Edinburgh, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: Alex Smellie, 1817.

Brougham, Henry Lord. The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham, 3 volumes. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1871.

— Lives of Men of Letters and Science who flourished in the Time of George III, 2 volumes. London: Charles Knight & Co., 1845.

Brown, P. Hume. History of Scotland to the Present Time, 3 volumes. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1911.

Buckle, Henry Thomas. History of Civilization in England, 3 volumes, new edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1873.

Burt, Edward. Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London etc., (about 1770) 2 volumes, fifth edition, ed. by R. Jamieson. London: 1818.

Burton, John Hill. The History of Scotland, From Agricolas Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection, 8 volumes, second edition. Edinburgh and London: 1873.

— Life and Correspondence of David Hume, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: William Tait, 1846.

— The Scot Abroad, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1844.

Campbell, John Lord. The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England, 7 volumes. London: John Murray, 1847.

Carlyle, Alexander. The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk 1722-1805, ed. by John Hill Burton, new edition. London and Edinburgh: Foulis, 1910.

Chalmers, Alexander. The British Essayists: with Prefaces, Historical and Biographical. London: 1808

Chalmers, George. The Life of Thomas Ruddiman. London: 1794.

Chambers, Robert. Domestic Annals of Scotland From the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: W & R Chambers: 1874.

— The Life and Works of Robert Burns, 4 volumes. Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1851.

— Reekiana or Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1833.

— Traditions of Edinburgh, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: 1825.

— Walks in Edinburgh. Edinburgh: W. Hunter, 1825.

Chantreau, le Citoyen. Voyage Dans les trois Royaumes D'Angleterre, D'Ecosse et D'Irlande. Fait en 1788 et 1789, 3 volumes. Paris: Chez Briand, 1792.

Chapman, Robert. The Picture of Glasgow and Stranger's Guide, third edition, enlarged. Glasgow: Printed for and by R. Chapman, 1818.

Chomel, A. A. Répertoire Anglois, ou Recueil de Literature, D'Histoires et D'Anecdotes Angloises, 2 volumes. Paris, 1789.

Cleland, James. Annals of Glasgow, an account of the Public Buildings, Charities, and the Rise and Progress of the City, 2 volumes. Glasgow: 1816.

— The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow comprising an

Account of its Public Buildings, Charitable Institutions, and other Establishments, Till the Year 1820. Glasgow: John Smith, 1829.

The Cochrane Correspondence Regarding the Affairs of Glasgow, 1745 - 1746. Glasgow: The Maitland Club, 1856.

Cockburn or Rutherford, Mrs. Alison. Letters and Memoir of her Own Life; Also 'Felix' a biographical sketch and various songs, notes by T. Craig-Brown. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1900.

Cockburn, Harry A. An Account of the Friday Club, Written by Lord Cockburn, Together with Notes on Certain Other Social Clubs in Edinburgh, Extracted from the Third Volume of the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, June 1911.

Cockburn, Henry. Journal of Henry Cockburn, being a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time. 1831 - 1854, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874.

— Life of Lord Jeffrey, with a Selection from his Correspondence, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852.

— Memorials of His Time, New ed. with introduction by his Grand-son Harry A. Cockburn. Edinburgh: Foulis, 1909.

A Collection of Loyal Songs, For the use of the Revolution Club. Edinburgh: Donaldson and Reid, 1761.

Constant, Benjamin. Le Cahier Rouge de Benjamin Constant. Publié par L. Constant de Rebecque: Paris: (no date).

Couper, W. J. The Edinburgh Periodical Press, 2 volumes. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1908.

Coutts, James. A History of the University of Glasgow - From its Foundation in 1451 to 1909. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1909.

Craig, Mary Elizabeth. The Scottish Periodical Press 1750 - 1789. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1931.

Craik, Sir Henry. A Century of Scottish History, 2 volumes. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood, 1901.

Creech, William. Letters Addressed to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Respecting the Mode of Living, Arts, Commerce, Literature, Manners, etc. of Edinburgh in 1763 and since that period. (Included as an Appendix to Sinclair's Statistical Account, vol. VI.) Edinburgh: 1793.

Currie, J. The Works of Robert Burns; with an Account of his life, and a Criticism on writings, Etc., in 4 volumes, 5th

edition. London: 1806.

Dalrymple, David. A Catalogue of the Lords of Session, From the institution of the College of Justice in the Year 1532, with Historical Notes. (1749.?).

Dalzel, Andrew. History of the University of Edinburgh from its Foundation, 2 volumes, (volume 1 is a memoir of the author). Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1862.

Dibdin, James C. The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage with an Account of the Rise and Progress of Dramatic Writing in Scotland. Edinburgh; Richard Cameron, 1888.

Dinaux, Arthur. Les Sociétés Bâdines, Bachiques, Littéraires, et chantantes; leur histoire et Leurs travaux. (ouvrage posthume), revu et classé par M. Gustave Brunet, 2 volumes. Paris: 1867.

Donaldson, John E. Caithness in the 18th Century. Edinburgh and London: Moray Press, 1938.

Duncan, Robert. The Story of the Edinburgh Burns Relics With Fresh Facts about Burns and His Family. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1910.

Dunlop, Alison Hay. Anent Old Edinburgh and some of the Worthies who Walked its Streets, edited by her Brothers. Edinburgh: Somerville and Menzies, 1890.

An Account of the Signet Club With Extracts from the Minutes and a Complete List of Members, 1790 - 1902, edited by George Dunlop. Edinburgh: Printed for the Club by T. & A. Constable, 1902.

Dutens, M. Mémoires D'un Voyageur Qui se Repose, 3 volumes. Paris: Chez Bossange, 1806.

The Edinburgh Miscellany: consisting of Original Poems, Translations, Etc. By Various Hands. Volume I, the Second Edition. Edinburgh: Printed by J. M'Ewan and Co, 1720.

The Edinburgh Review, for the year 1755: The Second Edition, with a preface and Explanatory notes (by James Mackintosh). London: Printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; and Archibald Constable and Co. Edinburgh, 1818.

Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary. Read before the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh, and published by them, 3 volumes, second edition. Edinburgh: Printed for John Balfour, 1771.

Faujas, B. St. Fond. Voyage en Angloterre, en Écosse et aux Îles Hébrides: (Ayant pour objet Les Sciences, les Arts, l'Histoire naturelle et les Mœurs: Etc.), 2 volumes. Paris: H. J. Jansen, 1797.

Ferguson, Adam. Minutes of the Life and Character of Joseph Black, M. D. Addressed to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Fergusson, Lieut-Colonel Alexander. The Honourable Henry Frskine Lord Advocate for Scotland. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1882.

Fergusson, James. John Fergusson 1727 - 1750. London: Jonathan Cape, 1948.

Finlay, Ian. Art in Scotland. Oxford University Press, 1948.

Fitzgerald, Percy. Life of James Boswell (of Auchinleck) with an Account of His Sayings, Doings, and Writings, 2 volumes. London: Chatto and Windus, 1891.

Forbes, Margaret. Beattie and His Friends. Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1904.

Forbes, Sir William. An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, LL.D., 3 volumes, second edition. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1807.

Forbes, Mrs. Atholl. Curiosities of a Scot's Charta Chest 1600 - 1800, edited and arranged by The Honourable Mrs. Atholl Forbes. Edinburgh: William Brown, 1897.

Forster, John. The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith, sixth edition, illustrated, 2 volumes. London: 1877.

Fraser, Alexander Campbell. Life and Letters of George Berkeley, D. D. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1871.

Fyfe, J. G. Scottish Diaries and Memoirs 1550 - 1746, arranged and edited by J. G. Fyfe. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1928.

— Scottish Diaries and Memoirs 1746 - 1843, arranged and edited by J. G. Fyfe. Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1942.

Galt, John. Annals of the Parish and the Ayrshire Legatees, (with a memoir of the author). London: Maclaren and Co.

— The Entail. do.

— The Provost and Other Tales. do.

— Sir Andrew Wylie. do.

— The Autobiography of John Galt, 2 volumes. London: Cochran and McCrone, 1833.

— The Literary Life, and Miscellanies of John Galt, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1834.

Garratt, G. T. Lord Brougham. London: Macmillan, 1935.

Gibson, Andrew. New Light on Allan Ramsay. Edinburgh: William Brown, 1927.

Gibson, John. The History of Glasgow, from the earliest accounts to the present time. Glasgow: Printed by Rob. Graham and Alex. Duncan, 1777.

Glasgow Past and Present: Illustrated in Dean of Guild Court Reports and in the Reminiscences and Communications of Senex, Aliquis, J. B., Etc., 3 volumes. Glasgow: David Robertson and Co., 1884. (2nd edition?)

Gleig, The Right Rev. George. Some Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson, D. D., Late Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and Historiographer to his Majesty for Scotland. (Prefixed to Wm. Robertson's History of Scotland, volume I) London: Published by S. A. Oddy, 1812.

Graham, Harry. A Group of Scottish Women. 1908.

Graham, Henry Grey. Scottish Men of Letters in the 18th Century. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1901.

— The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909.

Grant, Sir Alexander. The Story of the University of Edinburgh During its First Three Hundred Years. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884.

Grant, James. Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh: Its History, its People, and its Places, 3 volumes. London: Cassell, 1880.

Gregory, John. A Father's Legacy to his Daughters, to which is Prefixed an Account of the Life of the Author. Edinburgh: Printed for W. Creech.

Greig, James A. Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1948.

Greig, J. Y. T. David Hume. London: Jonathan Cape, 1931.

— The Letters of David Hume, edited by J. Y. T. Greig, 2 volumes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1932.

Grosart, A. B. Robert Fergusson, Famous Scots Series. Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1898.

— The Works of Robert Fergusson, edited, With Life of the Author and an Essay on his Genius and Writings by A. B. Grosart). London: A. Fullarton, 1851.

Hamilton, Henry. Industrial Revolution in Scotland. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1932.

Harvey, George. Notes on the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy, second edition. Edinburgh: Edmonstone and Douglas, 1873.

Heron, Robert. Observations made in A Journey Through the Western Counties of Scotland in the Autumn of 1792, 2 volumes, second edition. Perth: Printed for W. Morrison, 1799.

— Scotland Described or, a Topographical Description of All the Counties of Scotland with the Northern and Western Isles Belonging to it, Edinburgh: 1797.

Hill, John. An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair, D. D. Edinburgh: Printed By J. Ballantyne, 1807.

History of the Dialectic Society. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by T. and A. Constable at the University Press, 1887.

History of the Juridical Society of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1875.

The History of the Speculative Society 1764 - 1904. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by T. and A. Constable, 1905.

Hume, A. The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs of the United Kingdom being An Account of their respective origin, history, objects, and constitutions. London: G. Willis, 1853.

Hutton, Laurence. Literary Landmarks of Edinburgh. London: J. Osgood and McIlvaine, 1891.

Irving, David. The Lives of the Scottish Poets with Preliminary Dissertations, on the Literary History of Scotland and the Early Scottish Drama, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: 1804.

— Lives of Scottish Writers. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1839.

Johnston, Thomas. The History of the Working Classes in Scotland, second edition. Glasgow: 1929.

Jouet, Alphonse. Les Clubs, Leur Histoire et Leur Role Depuis 1789. Paris: A. Giard, 1891.

Joyce, Michael. Edinburgh - The Golden Age 1769 - 1832. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1951.

Kay, John. A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdote, 2 volumes (each of two parts). Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1837.

Kempt, Robert. Convivial Caledonia. Inns and Taverns of Scotland and Some Famous People Who Have Frequentated Them. London: Chapman and Hall.

- Kerr, Robert. Memories of the Life, Writings, Correspondence of William Smellie, Late Printer in Edinburgh, etc., 2 volumes. Edinburgh: 1811.
- Kincaid, Alexander. The History of Edinburgh from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time; by way of Guide to the City and Suburbs, etc. Edinburgh: for the author, 1788.
- Knight, William. Lord Monboddo and Some of his Contemporaries. London: John Murray, 1900.
- Knox, John. A Tour Through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786. London and Edinburgh: 1787.
- Lafond, le Comte l. L'Écosse Jadis et Aujourd'hui. Études et Souvenirs. Paris: Calmann Levy, 1887.
- Lang, Andrew. A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation, 4 volumes. Edinburgh: 1907.
- Laing, B. M. David Hume. London: Ernest Benn, 1932.
- LaTocnaye, Chevalier De. Promenade d'un Français dans L'Irlande, second edition. Brunswick: 1801.
— Promenade d'un Français dans la Grande-Bretagne, second edition. Brunswick: 1801.
- Lecky, William Edward Hartpole. A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, new edition, 7 volumes. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.
— History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe, second edition, 2 volumes. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865.
- Leighton, John M. History of the County of Fife, 2 volumes. Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1840.
- Lockhart, John Gibson. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., second edition, 10 volumes. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1839.
— Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1819.
- Luce, A. A. The Life of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne. London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1949.
- MacGeorge, Andrew. Old Glasgow: The Place and the People. From the Roman Occupation to the Eighteenth Century. Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1880.
- MacGregor, George. The History of Glasgow: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1881.

- Mackenzie, Agnes Mure. Scotland in Modern Times 1720 - 1939. London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1941.
- Mackenzie, Henry. The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie 1745 - 1831, edited by Harold William Thompson. Oxford University Press, 1927.
- An Account of the Life and Writings of John Home, Esq. Edinburgh: 1822.
- The Works of Henry Mackenzie, 8 volumes. Edinburgh: 1808.
- Mackenzie, Peter. Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland, 2 volumes, in 4 parts. Glasgow: John Tweed, 1865 (?).
- Mackinnon, James. The Social and Industrial History of Scotland, From the Union to the Present Time. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921.
- Mackintosh, John. The History of Civilization in Scotland, 4 volumes. Aberdeen: A. Brown, 1888.
- Maclean, Kenneth. John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.
- Macleod, William Christie. The American Indian Frontier, Chapter XIII, "Celt and Indian: Britain's Old World Frontier in Relation to the New". London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1928.
- Macpherson, Hector. The Intellectual Development of Scotland. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911 (?).
- Macrae, Rev. Alexander. Scotland From the Treaty of Union with England to the Present Time. (1707 - 1907). London: J. M. Dent, 1908.
- Maitland, William. The History of Edinburgh From Its Foundation to the Present Time. Edinburgh: 1753.
- Malcolm, C. A. Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh.
- Martin, Burns. Allan Ramsay, A Study of His Life and Works. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- Masson, David. Memories of Two Cities Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Edinburgh and London: 1911.
- Matheson, Cyril. A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies, And of the Papers Relative to Scottish History issued by H. M. Stationery Office, including the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., 1908 - 1927. Aberdeen: Milne and Hutchison, 1928

Matheson, Cyril. The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville 1742 - 1811. London: Constable and Co., 1933.

Mathieson, William Law. The Awakening of Scotland, A History from 1747 to 1797. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1910.

--- Church and Reform in Scotland, A History from 1797 to 1843. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1916.

--- Scotland and the Union, A History of Scotland from 1695 to 1747. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1905.

Maxwell, Robert of Arkland. The Practical Husbandman: Being a Collection of Miscellaneous Papers on Husbandry, Etc. Edinburgh: Printed by C. Wright, 1757.

--- Select Transactions of the Honourable The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland. Together with an Account of the Society's Endeavours to Promote Our Manufactures. Prepared for the Press by Robert Maxwell of Arkland, a Member of the Society, and revised by the Preses and a Committee appointed for that End. Edinburgh: Printed by Sands, Brymer, Murray, and Cochran, 1743.

Medical Essays and Observations Revised and Published by a Society in Edinburgh, 5 volumes, volume 5 in two parts. Edinburgh: Printed by T. and W. Ruddiman, 1733 - 1744.

The Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition 1894. Published by the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1894.

Michel, Francisque. Les Écossais en France Les Français en Écosse, 2 volumes. London: Trubner and Co., 1862.

Millar, John Hepburn. A Literary History of Scotland. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903.

--- Scottish Prose of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1912.

--- The Mid-Eighteenth Century. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood, 1902.

Miller, Hugh. My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh: Nimmo.

Mitchell, Sir Arthur, and C. G. Cash. A Contribution to the Bibliography of Scottish Topography, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and H. Constable for the Scottish History Society.

Mossner, Ernest Campbell. The Forgotten Hume, Le bon David. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Murray, David. Early Burgh Organization in Scotland, 2 volumes. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, 1924.

- Murray, David. Memories of the Old College of Glasgow; Some Chapters in the History of the University. Glasgow: 1927.
- Robert and Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press, with some Account of the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1913.
- Some Letters of Robert Foulis. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1917.
- Newte, Thomas. Prospects and Observations on a Tour in England and Scotland; Natural, Oeconomical, and Literary. London: 1791.
- Noland, J. Bennett. Benjamin Franklin in Scotland and Ireland 1759 - 1771. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.
- Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow During the Greater Part of the Last Century. Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1851.
- Omond, George W. T. The Arniston Memoirs; Three Centuries of a Scottish House 1571 - 1838, edited from the Family Papers by George W. T. Omond. Edinburgh: David Dundas, 1887.
- The Lord Advocates of Scotland, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1883.
- Pagan, James. Sketches of the History of Glasgow. Glasgow: Robert Stuart, 1847.
- Paul, James Balfour. The History of the Royal Company of Archers, The Queen's Body-Guard for Scotland. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1875.
- Pennecuik, Alexander. The Works of Alexander Pennecuik, Esq., of New-Hall, M. D., containing the Description of Tweeddale and Miscellaneous Poems, a new edition, to which are prefixed Memoirs of Dr. Pennecuik, etc. Leith: A. Allardice, 1815.
- Pichot, M. Amédee. Voyage Historique et Littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse, 3 volumes. Paris: 1825.
- Pinkerton, John. Ancient Scottish Poems, never before in print, but now Published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland, etc., with large notes, and a Glossary, 2 volumes. London: 1786.
- Playfair, James G. The Works of John Playfair, Esq., with a Memoir of the Author, volume 1. Edinburgh: Printed by Archibald Constable, 1822.
- Ponsonby, Arthur. Scottish and Irish Diaries, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century with an introduction. London: Methuen, 1927.

- Rae, John. Life of Adam Smith. London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.
- Ramsay, Alexander. History of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, with Notices of Anterior Societies for the Promotion of Agriculture in Scotland. Edinburgh: 1879.
- Ramsay, Allan. The Works of Allan Ramsay, with Life of the Author by George Chalmers: And an Essay on His Genius and Writings by Lord Woodhouselee, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: Fullarton and Co., 1851.
- Ramsay, Dean. Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, new edition. London: Peter Davies, 1924.
- Ramsay of Ochertyre, John. Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, 2 volumes, edited by Alexander Allardyce. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1888.
- Ritchie, Thomas Edward. An Account of the Life and Writings of David Hume, Esq. London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1807.
- Robertson, George. General View of the Agriculture of the County of Mid-Lothian; with Observations on the Means of its Improvement. From the communications of George Robertson, Farmer, at Granton, near Edinburgh. Edinburgh: 1795.
- Robison, John. Proofs of a Conspiracy Against All the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies, the third edition, corrected. Edinburgh: 1798.
- Rogers, Rev. Charles. Scotland Social and Domestic; Memorials of Life and Manners in North Britain. London: Printed for the Grampian Club, 1869.
- Social Life in Scotland From Early to Recent Times, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1884.
- Rogers, Samuel. Recollections. London: 1859.
- Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers; To Which is Added Porsoniana. London: Edward Moxon, 1856.
- Rorie, David. The Book of Aberdeen (compiled for the 107th Annual meeting of the British Medical Association by the author). Aberdeen: 1939.
- Rudler, Gustave. La Jeunesse de Benjamin Constant 1767 - 1794. Paris: A. Colin, 1909.
- Russell, Bertrand. History of Western Philosophy and its Connections with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1946.

Schmitz, Robert Morell. Hugh Blair. New York: King's Crown Press, 1948.

Scott, Sir Walter. The Journal of Sir Walter Scott 1825 - 1832, new edition. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1910.

— The Letters of Sir Walter Scott 1787 - 1807, edited by H. J. C. Grierson assisted by Davidson Cook, W. M. Parker, and others. London: Constable and Co., 1932.

— Guy Mannering or The Astrologer. Oxford University Press, 1924.

— Waverly, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since. do.

— The Antiquary. do.

— Rob Roy. do.

— Redgauntlet. do.

— Old Mortality. do.

— Saint Ronan's Well. do.

— The Heart of Midlothian. do.

— Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq. London: John Murray, 1830.

— The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., (Vol. 19, Miscellaneous Periodical Criticism). Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1835.

— Tales of a Grandfather, 7 volumes. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1836.

'Senex' (Robert Reid). Old Glasgow and Its Environs, Historical and Topographical. Glasgow: David Robertson, 1864.

Sime, A. H. Moncur. The Literary Life of Edinburgh. London: James Clarke, 1898.

Sinclair, Sir John. The Statistical Account of Scotland, Drawn up From the Communications of the Ministers of the Different Parishes, 21 volumes. Edinburgh: Printed and sold by Wm. Creech, 1793.

Small, John. Biographical Sketch of Adam Ferguson, (Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh). Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1864.

Smellie, William. Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1782.

— Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume, Esq., and Adam Smith, LL.D.; To Which are Added a Dissertation on Public Spirit and Three Essays. Edinburgh: Printed and Sold by Alexander Smellie, 1800.

Smith, G. Gregory. Scottish Literature, Its Character and Influence. London: Macmillan and Co., 1919.

- Sommers, Thomas. The Life of Robert Fergusson The Scottish Poet. Edinburgh: Printed for the author, 1803.
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland. London: John Murray, 1872.
- Stephen, Leslie. History of English Thought in the 18th Century, 2 volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1876.
- Stewart, Dugald. Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith, of William Robertson, and of Thomas Reid Read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, now collected into one volume, with some additional notes. Edinburgh: George Ramsay, 1811.
- Stewart, George. Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship, as Exhibited Chiefly in the Business Career of its Old Commercial Aristocracy. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1881.
--- Progress of Glasgow, a sketch of the commercial and industrial increase of the city during the last century as shown in the records of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and other authentic documents. Glasgow: Printed for private circulation, 1883.
- Strang, John. Glasgow and Its Clubs, or Glimpses of the Condition, Manners, Characters, and Oddities of the City, During the Past and Present Century. London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin, 1856.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson. Edinburgh edition: Printed by T. and A. Constable for Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.
- Stuart, Robert. Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times. Glasgow: Robert Stuart and Co., 1848.
- Telfer, John. The Scots Poems of Robert Fergusson, Edited with biographical sketch, etc. Edinburgh: Scottish Features Ltd., 1948.
- Terry, Charles Sanford. A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies, And of the Volumes Relative to Scottish History Issued by His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1780 - 1908, with a Subject-Index. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1909.
- Thompson, Harold William. A Scottish Man of Feeling, Some Account of Henry Mackenzie of Edinburgh and of the Golden Age of Burns and Scott. Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Thomson, John. An Account of the Life, Lectures, and Writings, of William Cullen, M. D., Professor of the Practice of Physic

- in the University of Edinburgh, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood, 1832.
- Tinker, Chauncey Brewster. Young Boswell. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922.
- Tonge, John. The Arts of Scotland, illustrated. London: 1938.
- Topham, Edward. Letters from Edinburgh; Written in the Years 1774 and 1775, etc. London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1776.
- Toynbee, Arnold J. A Study of History, 6 volumes, second edition, fourth impression. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Turner, Dawson. The Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton, Esq., now first printed from the originals in the possession of the author, 2 volumes. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830.
- Tytler, Alexander Fraser. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames, etc., containing sketches of literature and general improvement in Scotland during the greater part of the eighteenth century, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: Creech, 1807.
- Veitch, John. Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart., (Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh). Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood, 1869.
- Vulliamy, C. E. James Boswell. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1932.
- Watson, John. The Scot of the Eighteenth Century: His Religion and His Life. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.
- Welsh, David. Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Brown, M. D. Edinburgh: Printed for W. C. Tait, 1825.
- Wemyss, H. L. Watson. A Record of the Edinburgh Harveian Society. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by T. and A. Constable, 1933.
- Wilson, C. H. Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Antique Statues in the Trustee's Academy, second edition. Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1839.
- Wilson, Sir Daniel. Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time, 2 volumes, 2nd edition. Edinburgh and London: Adam and Charles Black, 1891.
- Wodrow, Rev. Robert. Analecta: or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians, 4 volumes. Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842.

1

Supplementary List of Printed Books.

Argyll, the Duke of. Scotland as it was and as it is, 2 volumes.
Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

Armstrong, Walter. Scottish Painters: A Critical Study. London:
Seeley and Co., 1888.

The Athenian Gazette: or casuistical Mercury, resolving all the most
nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious, etc.
London: 1691. And The Athenian oracle, being an entire collection
of all the valuable questions and answers in the old Athenian
Murcuries, and a supplement to the Athenian oracle ... To which
is prefix'd The History of the Athenian Society, and an Essay
upon Learning. By a member of the Athenian Society. London:
1706, 1710, 1728.

Boswell, James. Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle.
In the Collection of Rt. Colonel Ralph Heyward Isham. Prepared
for the press by Geoffrey Scott and now first printed, 18 vol-
umes. United States of America: 1929.

Caw, James L. Scottish Paintings Past and Present. 1620-1908. Edin-
burgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1908.

Chalmers, Alexander. The British Essayists, (especially vols. 35-37,
which comprise the Mirror and the Lounger). London: 1807.

Clayden, P. W. The Early Life of Samuel Rogers. London: Smith, Elder,
and Co., 1887.

Collection of Styles, or a Complete System of Conveyancing, adapted to
the present practice of Scotland, 3 volumes. Edinburgh: 1790-
1794.

Comrie, John D. History of Scottish Medicine, 2 volumes, 2nd edition.
London: Published for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1932.

Cunningham, Allan. The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters,
annotated and continued to the Present time by Mrs. Charles
Heaton, 3 volumes. London: George Bell and Sons, 1879.

Drake, Nathan. Essays, Biographical Critical, and Historical, Illustra-

ive of the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler, and of the various Periodical Papers which, In Imitation of the Writings of Steel and Addison, Have Been Published Between the Close of the eighth volume of the Spectator and the commencement of the year 1809, 2 volumes. London: Printed by J. Seeley, 1809.

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. London: Macmillan and Co., 1930.

Erskine, John, of Carnock. An Institute of the Law of Scotland, in the order of Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions of that Law, 2 volumes. Edinburgh: 1773.

Foulis, Robert. A Catalogue of Pictures, Composed and Painted chiefly by the Most Admired Masters of the Roman, Florentine, Parman, Bolognese, Venetian, Flemish, and French Schools. In which many of the most capital are illustrated by Descriptions, and critical Remarks, 3 volumes. London: Sold at the place of Exhibition and by T. Cadell, 1776.

Gibbon, Edward. The Private Letters of Edward Gibbon (1753-1794), with an introduction by the Earl of Sheffield, edited by Rowland E. Prothero, 2 volumes, 2nd edition. London: John Murray, 1897.

Gray, William Forbes. The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall, (from the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol. 19, pages 189 to 245). Edinburgh.

Harris, David Fraser. Saint Cecilia's Hall in the Niddry Wynd; A Chapter in the History of the Music of the Past in Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1899.

The Hodge Podge Club, 1752 - 1900, compiled from the Records of the Club by T. F. Donald. Glasgow: Printed for Private circulation by James Maclehose, 1900.

Ferguson, Thomas. The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare; a Survey from Medieval Times to 1863. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1948.

McKay, William D. The Scottish School of Painting. London: Duckworth and Co., 1906.

Mackintosh, James. Memoirs of the Life of Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his son Robert James Mackintosh, 2 volumes. London: Edward Moxon, 1835.

Marsh, Charles. The Clubs of London; with Anecdotes of their Members, sketches of character and Conversations, in 2 volumes. London: 1828.

Medical and Philosophical Commentaries, by a Society in Edinburgh. London: for J. Murray, beginning 1773.

Pitcairn, Archibald. Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcarni Med. Doctoris, Gulielmi Scot a Thirlestane, Equitis, Thomae Kincadii, Civis Edinburgensis, et Aliorum. Edinburgh: Excusa Anno 1727.

Rait, Robert S. The Making of Scotland, 2nd edition. London: A. and C. Black, 1929.

The Society of Ancient Scots. The Lives of Eminent Scotsmen, or Lives of Scottish Poets, by the Society of Ancient Scots, Re-established A. D. 1770, 6 volumes. London: Printed for T. Boys, 1821.

(Stroud, Dr. William). History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh. Prefaced to a List of Members, Laws, and Library Catalogue of the Medical Society of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Wm. Aitken, 1820.

Timbs, John. Club Life of London with Anecdotes of the Clubs, Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis, During the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries, 2 volumes. London: Richard Bentley, 1866.

Trail, William. Accoutn of the Life and Writings of Robert Simson. London: 1812.

Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Volume I. Edinburgh: Printed for J. Dickson, 1788.

Watkeys, Frederick W. Old Edinburgh, 2 volumes. Boston: L. C. Page and Co., 1908.

Pamphlets and Manuscripts.

(Note: The entries in this section of the bibliography are arranged either alphabetically, or under the name of the Club or Society to which they apply. Locations are given in parentheses for all pamphlets as well as the manuscripts. For a description of the Laing MSS. listed below, see Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Laing Manuscripts preserved in the University of Edinburgh, 2 volumes. Printed under the Authority of his Majesty's Stationary Office, 1914 and 1925.)

Aesculapian Club. "History of the Aesculapian Club, (instituted 1773)." Edinburgh: The Darien Press, 1950. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

(Arbuckle, James). "A Short Account of the Late Treatment of the Students of the University of G——w, (i.e. Glasgow)." Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1722. (A Pamphlet in the University of Glasgow Library.)

✓ Belles Lettres Society. "Minutes of the Belles Lettres Society of Edinburgh," 2 volumes. (A manuscript in the National Library of Scotland.)

— "Notes on the Proceedings of the Belles Lettres Society of Edinburgh." (A manuscript in the National Library of Scotland.)

Cape Club. "The Capeiad," in three Cantos. Together with the songs of Cape. Being a complete history in verse of the Knights Companion of that Illustrious order C. F. D., (i.e. Concordia Fratum decus), 1764-69. (A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, Laing II, 464.)

— "Cape Song," by Robert Fergusson. (A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, Laing II, 334.)

Congress Hall Club. "Minutes of the Congress Hall Club," 4 volumes. (A manuscript in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Easy Club. "G. Buch(anan) Secretary of the Easy Club, to the Editor of the Spectator." (A manuscript in the Library of the University

of Edinburgh, Laing II, 212, 1. Note: No. 212 contains several other papers relating to the Easy Club, also several poems and autographs, by Allan Ramsay, author of "The Gentle Shepherd," etc.)

- "Geo. Buchanan, Secretary of the Easy Club, to Mr. Edgar at Leyden." (A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, Laing II, 212, 2.)

Fair Intellectual-Club. "An Account of the Fair Intellectual-Club in Edinburgh in a letter to an Honourable Member of an Athenian Society there," by a Young Lady, the Secretary of the Club. Edinburgh: Printed by J. M'Euen & Co., 1720. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

Harmonist's Society. "The Edinburgh Harmonist's Society," by J. P. McDonugh, Hon. Secretary of the Edinburgh Harmonist's Society, 1933-34. (A typescript in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

- "The Edinburgh Harmonist's Society Rules and List of Members, 1892-93." With an Introductory Sketch of the Early History of The Society compiled by the vice-president. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Harveian Society. "An Account of the Life, Writings, and Character, of the late Dr. Alexander Monro, Secundus," by Andrew Duncan. Delivered as the Harveian Oration at Edinburgh, for the year 1818. Edinburgh: Printed for A. Constable, 1818. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Juridical Society. "The Laws of the Juridical Society of Edinburgh," instituted anno 1773. Edinburgh: 1797. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

Literary Society of the University of Glasgow. "Minutes of the Literary Society of the University of Glasgow." (A typescript - from the original records - in the Murray Collection in the Library of the University of Glasgow.)

(MacNeill, Hector). "Town Fashions or Modern Manners Delineated, a Satirical Dialogue with James and Mary, A Rural Tale," by Hector MacNeill. Edinburgh: Printed for Wm. Blackwood, 1810. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Miller, Frank. "Andrew Crosbie, Advocate, A Reputed Original of Paulus Pleydell in "Guy Mannering," by Frank Miller. From the Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society - 24th October, 1919. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

Mirror Club. "Curious paper, apparently a contribution for The Mirror,"

written by William Craig, Lord Craig, one of its promoters.
(A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh,
Laing II, 265.)

Murray, David. "The Notebooks of David Murray," 6 volumes. (Manuscripts in the David Murray Collection of the Library of the University of Glasgow.)

Musical Society of Edinburgh. "A Musical Entertainment, Performed by A Society of Gentlemen in Edinburgh, Upon the Anniversary of the Birthday of James Thomson, Author of the Seasons, etc., September 22, 1770." (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

— "Funeral Concert Performed by the Gentlemen of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, 22 of November 1771, on the Death of Sir Robert Murray, Bart., one of the Directors and William Douglas, Treasurer to the Society." (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

-- "A List of the Members of the Musical Society of Edinburgh, May 1, 1775." (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library. This copy of the pamphlet is of particular interest as it bears the name of William Cullen, and was apparently in his possession at one time.)

— "A List of the Members of the Musical Society at Edinburgh, 1793." (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Medical Society of Edinburgh, (afterwards the Royal Medical Society).

"History of the Medical Society of Edinburgh," by Dr. Wm. Stroud, President. This History appears as a preface to "A List of Members, Laws, and Library Catalogue of the Medical Society of Edinburgh." Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Wm. Aitken, 1820. (The "History" alone, in the form of a pamphlet, may be seen in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

— "A Short Account of the Commencement, Progress, and Present State, of the Buildings Belonging to The Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh." Edinburgh: Printed by D. Neill, 1819. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Pantheon Society. "Essay on the Question - 'Whether have the exertions of Allan Ramsay or Robert Fergusson done most honour to Scottish Poetry'," by Robert Cumming. Edinburgh: 1791. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Public Library.)

— "The Laurel Disputed; or, The Merits of Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson contrasted; in two Poetical Essays, Delivered in the Pantheon at Edinburgh, on Thursday, April 14th, 1791 On the Questions, 'Whether have the Exertions of Allan Ramsay or Robert

Fergusson done more Honour to Scotland,' by E. Picken, and A. Wilson." Edinburgh: Printed for A. Guthrie, 1791. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Philalethic Society. "Regulations of the Philalethic Society." Edinburgh: Printed by James Muirhead, 1808. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

— "List of Members of the Philalethic Society." (A manuscript, bound with the pamphlet listed directly above, in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Physical Society, (afterwards the Royal Physical Society.) "The Laws of the Royal Physical Society; Instituted at Edinburgh, July 2, 1771, and confirmed by Royal Charter, May 5, 1788." Edinburgh: Printed by P. Neill, 1819. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

Poker Club. "Minutes of the Poker Club, 1774 - 1784." A gift to the University by Adam Ferguson, 1854. (A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

✓ Pryde, George S. "Historical Association Pamphlet, No. 98. 'Social Life in Scotland Since 1707,' by George S. Pryde." Published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1934. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

Royal Society of Edinburgh. "James Hutton (1726-1797)." A commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of his Death, from the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1948-49. Published by Oliver and Boyd. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

✓ Select Society. "Minutes of the St. Giles or Select Society of Edinburgh." (A manuscript in the National Library of Scotland.)

— "Rules and Orders of the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture." (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Society for Investigating Natural History. "(Transactions of the) Society for Investigating Natural History, 1782, Vol. 1." (A manuscript in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. "State of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the year 1769." (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

— "A Summary Account of the Rise and Progress of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." Showing: the importance of the Institution; the Benefits arising from it; the chief Objects of the Attention of the Directors; and the Aid

necessary to enable them to carry on their beneficent Designs. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1783. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

- "A Brief History of the Society in Scotland, for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands; and of the Correspondent Board in London; From the Establishment of the Society in the year 1701, Down to the Present Time." By Henry Hunter, Secretary to the Correspondent Board. London: 1795. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)
- "An Account of the Funds, Expenditure, and General Management of the Affairs, of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." Contained in a Report, drawn up by a Committee of their Number, appointed for that purpose. Published By Order of the Society. Edinburgh: Printed by J. Paterson, 1796. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)
- "A Short Account of the Society in Scotland, for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands." To which is affixed a List of the Ministers who have preached before the Corresponding Board, and of the Subscribers, etc. London: Printed by T. Gillet, 1809. (A pamphlet in the University of Edinburgh Library.)
- "Short Account of the Object, Progress, and Exertions of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." Society-Hall, Edinburgh, March, 1825. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

Society for the Reformation of Manners. "Minutes of the Society for the Reformation of Manners, 1700 - 1707." A Register of the resolutions and proceedings of a society for reformation of manners at Edinburgh commencing on 10th September 1700, and continuing till the end of 1707. The meetings were held on Tuesdays, Daniel Defoe was admitted a member on 25 March 1707. (A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, Laing III, 339.)

- "A Letter from **** a Magistrate in the Countrey, to *** his Freind." Giving a new Historical Account of Designs, through the Christian World, for Reforming Manners therein, (by Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen.) Edinburgh: Printed by George Mossman, 1701. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)
- "A Discourse of Suppressing Vice, And Reforming the Vicious." Delivered in Several Sermons in the Moneths of June and July, 1701. By a Minister of the Church of Scotland, (William Wishart). Edinburgh: Printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, 1702. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

Speculative Society. "A General List of the Members of the Speculative Society." Instituted at Edinburgh 17th November, 1764. Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1814. (A pamphlet in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

— "Paper written for the Speculative Society," By Patrick Fraser Tytler, historian, 1771-1839. (A manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.)

"A Visit to Mr. Smellie's Printing-Office, Foot of the Anchor Close." Taken from a Periodical Publication, March, 1843. (A pamphlet in the University of Edinburgh Library.)

Wagering Club. "The Wagering Club and the Memory of Bain Whyt." A Phantasy by the Chairman, (Dan Fraser), on the occasion of the 162nd Anniversary, Monday, 25th January 1937. Edinburgh: Darien Press, 1937. (A pamphlet in the Edinburgh Room of the Edinburgh Public Library.)

ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS.

American Philosophical Society, Proceedings of the, Vol. 94, No. 3, June 1950. "Some American Students of 'That Shining Oracle of Physic,' Dr. William Cullen of Edinburgh, 1755 - 1766." An article by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.

Caledonian Mercury, tri-weekly. Edinburgh: 1720 - 1867. Read: 1723 - 1724 (single issues), 1727 (Jan. 9 to March 15), March 1736 to March 1737, 1740 to 1748 (single issues), 1743 to 1757 (single issues), 1747, 1748, 1763, 1775 to 1777 (single issues).

Critical Club, Letters of the, vol. I, January to June, inclusive. Edinburgh: 1738. Containing Miscellaneous Observations upon Men, Manners, and Writings. Begun in the month of January, 1738, and published monthly at Edinburgh.

Edinburgh Annual Register for 1816. Edinburgh: 1820. Vol. ninth, Parts I and II.

Edinburgh Courant. Read: 1709 - 1712 (single issues).

Edinburgh Eighth-Day Magazine, or Scots Town and Country Intelligencer, 8 day - fortnightly. Edinburgh: 1779 - 1780.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, tri-weekly. Edinburgh: 1718 - 1786. Read: 1779.

Edinburgh Flying Post. Read: 1709, 1710, 1711 (one copy each).

Edinburgh Gazattee. Read: 1699 - 1712 (single issues).

Edinburgh Magazine or Literary Miscellany, monthly. Edinburgh: 1785 - 1803. Read: Vol. 1, January 1785 to Vol. 16, December 1792, New Serries, Vol. 1, January 1793 to Vol. 14, December 1799.

Edinburgh Magazine and Review, monthly. Edinburgh: 1773 - 1776.

Edinburgh Medical Journal. July 1928. "Archibald Pitcairne" 1652 - 1713, an article by Robert Thin.

Edinburgh Museum; or North British Magazine, monthly. Edinburgh: January 1763 to December 1764.

Edinburgh Review, semi-annual, 2 vol. Edinburgh: 1755 - 1756.

Endeavour. Vol. V, No. 18, April 1946. "The Royal Society of Edinburgh," an article by James Kendall.

Gazette Litteraire de L'Europe, Tome Premier. Paris: 1764. Comprenant Les Mois de Mars, Avril & Mai.

Gentleman and Lady's Weekly Magazine. Edinburgh: 1774 - 1775. Read: January 1774 to April 1774.

Glasgow Courant, tri-weekly. Glasgow: 1715 - 1716. Read: November 1715 to January 1716.

Glasgow Courier, tri-weekly. Glasgow: 1791 - 1824. Read: Vol. 1, September 1791 to Vol. 3, 1794.

Glasgow Journal, weekly. Glasgow: 1741 - 1842. Read: March 1743 to July 1747 (single issues).

Glasgow Mercury, weekly. Glasgow: 1778 - 1796. Read: January 1778 to April 1781.

Hogg's Instructor. Edinburgh: 1851 - ?

Juridical Review. Edinburgh: Vol. 34, 1922. "The Real Pleydell," an article by James Thomson.

Lounger, weekly. Edinburgh: 1785 - 1787.

Macmillan's Magazine. London: October 1863. "Aberdeen Philosophers One Hundred Years Ago," by James Valentine. September 1907. "A Meeting of the Mirror Club."

Medical Press and Circular, Vol. CXCVII, No. 5056, April 1, 1936. "British Medical Societies, Their Early History and Development, 'The Royal Medical Society'." By James Gray, M. A., and A. M. McFarlan, M. B., Ch. B.

Mirror, weekly; semi-weekly. Edinburgh: January 1779 - May 1780.

New Scots Spy or Critical Observer, weekly. Edinburgh: August 1777 - November 1777. Read: Nos. 1 - 3, 5 - 12.

S. M. T. Magazine. January 1931, "Old Convivial Clubs of Edinburgh," an article by C. A. Malcolm.

Scots Courant. Edinburgh: Read: 1710 - 1712 (single issues).

Scots Magazine, monthly. Edinburgh: 1739 - 1826. Read: December 1739 to December 1799.

Scots Magazine. Edinburgh: March 1933. "An Irish Student at Old Edinburgh," an article by Alex. Riddell and Ruth Duffin. December 1935. "Taverns and Clubs of Old Edinburgh," an article by Harry A. Cockburn.

Scots Magazine, and General Intelligencer. Edinburgh: January 1739.

Scots Spy, or Critical Observer, weekly. Edinburgh: March 1776 to November 1776. Read: March, August, September 13, 20, 27, October 4, 11, 18, November 15, 1776.

Scots Town and Country Magazine, weekly. Edinburgh: August 1778 to August 1779. Read: Vol. 11, December 22, 1778 to May 25, 1779.

Scots Weekly Magazine; or Grand Repository. Edinburgh: 1775 -
Read: Vol. II, January 1776 to March 1776.

Scottish Journal of Topography, Antiquities, Traditions, Etc., Etc.
Edinburgh: Read: Vol. I, September 1847 to February 1848, Vol. II, March to July 1848.

Scottish Notes and Queries. Aberdeen: Read: Vol. 1, June 1887 to May 1888, Vol. 2, June 1888 to May 1889.

Trifler, A Periodical Paper, weekly. Edinburgh: December 1795 to August 1796. Read: December 1795 to July 1796.

Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement. Edinburgh: 1768 to 1784.
Read: Vol. 2, October 1768 to Vol. 13, September 1771; Vol. 15, January 1772 to Vol. 25, September 1774; Vol. 27, December 1774 to Vol. 39, May 1778; Vol. 41, July 1778 to Vol. 47, March 1780.

Weekly Mirror, weekly. Edinburgh: 1780 - 1781.